

A Critical Study and Edition
of the Manuscript of *al-Duʿafāʾ* (weak narrators)
of Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256 AH / 869 CE)

Section One

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Declaration

I hereby declare that:

- The thesis has been composed by the candidate.
- It has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree.
- The work has been done by the candidate.
- All quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks and the sources of information specifically acknowledged.

Signature

Date

Ahmad Yousef Barouni

Dedication

To my eminent father and mother

*To my beloved wife Rabiea. None of this would have
been possible without your love and support*

*To my children, Suhaila, Suhail, Ateaka and Sireen,
who are the adornment of my life in this world.*

Abstract

This thesis is primarily concerned with a study and critical examination of the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* of al-Bukhārī, which is one of the earliest and most important manuscripts to be written on the subject of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* (disparagement and validity). This thesis is one of the first to examine existing manuscripts of this work, and in it five copies of the same manuscripts are compared. It is one of very few studies in the English language that critically examine the books of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, to try to understand the methodology of its scholars, and to attempt a reconciliation between their differing opinions. At the same time, it will enrich the current Arabic literature in this field, as there has not yet been a complete study of this crucial manuscript in the field of *Ḥadīth*.

This thesis may be considered to be an exposition of two main points: firstly, it collates and critically examines the terms of disparagement that have been used by al-Bukhārī or transmitted by him from his teachers in the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, and a comparison of his usage of these terms with other common opinions regarding them. Also, a comparison is made between al-Bukhārī's usage of these terms in this manuscript with his usage in his other books. Secondly, it involves a presentation of the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* in a clear academic fashion that makes it accessible to students and researchers of all backgrounds. This study makes apparent the great importance of the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* in the field of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.

The aim of this study is not just to be a presentation of an accurate academic edition of the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* or a study of its terms or a criticism of the methodology of al-Bukhārī in authoring it, but rather it intends to be a significant contribution in this field of research.

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Volume 2: The Arabic Edition of the Manuscript

Transliteration system

The following system of transliteration has been adopted in this research for Arabic names and words.

Name and Shape of Arabic Characters		Roman Characters
<i>Hamzah</i>	ء a glottal stop	ʾ
<i>Alif</i>	ا as in 'fat'	ā
<i>Alif madd</i>	آ as in 'fat'	ʾā āa
<i>Hamzah and Alif</i>	أ as in 'fat'	ʾā
<i>Bāʾ</i>	ب as in 'big'	b
<i>Tāʾ</i>	ت as in 'tell'	t
<i>Thāʾ</i>	ث as in 'think'	th
<i>Jīm</i>	ج as in 'judge'	j
<i>Ḥāʾ</i>	ح no English equivalent / a breathy, strong 'h'	ḥ
<i>Khāʾ</i>	خ as in Scottish 'loch'	kh
<i>Dāl</i>	د as in 'dad'	d
<i>Dhāl</i>	ذ as in 'that'	dh
<i>Rāʾ</i>	ر rolled 'r' / as in Spanish 'arriva'	r
<i>Zāy</i>	ز as in 'zone'	z

<i>Sīn</i>	س as in ‘sea’	s
<i>Shīn</i>	ش as in ‘sheet’	sh
<i>Ṣād</i>	ص no English equivalent	ṣ
<i>Ḍād</i>	ض no English equivalent	ḍ
<i>Ṭā’</i>	ط no English equivalent	ṭ
<i>Zā’</i>	ظ no English equivalent	ẓ
<i>‘Ayn</i>	ع no English equivalent	‘
<i>Ghayn</i>	غ no English equivalent	gh
<i>Fā’</i>	ف as in ‘foot’	f
<i>Qāf</i>	ق no English equivalent	q
<i>Kāf</i>	ك as in ‘kitten’	k
<i>Lām</i>	ل as in ‘love’	l
<i>Mīm</i>	م as in ‘mask’	m
<i>Nūn</i>	ن as in ‘never’	n
<i>Hā’</i>	ه as in ‘happy’	h
<i>Tā’ (marbūṭah)</i>	ة	t
<i>Wāw</i>	و as in ‘wet’	w
<i>Yā’</i>	ي as in ‘yet’	Y

Gregorian – *Hijrī* Dates Converter

The term *hijrī* refers to the lunar calendar that is used by Muslims in calculating dates.

The word refers to the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Makkah to Madinah in 622 CE. On occasion in this work I have used the *hijrī* date, and on doing so have

suffixed the letters AH as an indication thereof. I have also mentioned the same date using Common Era. I have used the following website to convert *hijrī* dates to Common

Era: <http://prayer.al-islam.com/convert.asp?l=arb>

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Abbreviation

AH	After <i>Hijrah</i>
CE	Common Era
d.	Died
Fig.	Figure
n.d.	No date
no.	Number
opp.	Opposite
pl.	Plural
lit.	Literally
W	West
NE	North East
P	Page
sing.	Singular

Introduction

The discipline of *Ḥadīth* study is from amongst the most important and well-established Islamic disciplines, as it is concerned with the second core source in Islam. Unfortunately, in present times the importance given to the study of *Ḥadīth* has largely been theoretical with little practical effect. This has been the case both amongst Muslim and non-Muslim researchers. The consequence of this is that we find in recent times many academic works containing fabricated or weak *Ḥadīth*, which indicates that their authors have not given sufficient attention to determining what is, what is not, authentic from the Prophet. This shows that although many works on the disciplines of *Ḥadīth* have been written, the practical application of those rules have not been adhered to in recent times.

The recognition of a *Ḥadīth* as authentic, acceptable, weak or fabricated is the end result of a precise methodology, and the efforts of many scholars over the centuries. It is this methodology that has preserved the religion of Islam in its pure and pristine form up to our times. This discipline was established upon principles extracted from the *Qurʾān* and *Ḥadīth*, and has been aimed at safeguarding the final revelation from any form of alteration. The uniqueness of this methodology is that there is no other revealed religion, faith, or sect that has preserved the statements of its prophet or leader in a complete way as that which has been achieved by the methodology used by *Ḥadīth* scholars.

This profound methodology which pervaded the life of Muslims at that time, also raised the scholars of *Ḥadīth* to a station of truthfulness and honesty such that they were no longer subject to the demands of their whims and desires. The honesty that this methodology instilled in them can be seen when ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī was asked

about his father's level in narration of *Ḥadīth*, and in front of an entire assembly he declared him to be weak, despite the social taboo of speaking ill of one's father in public (Ibn Ḥibān, n.d. 2:14-15). Similarly, Abū Dāwūd was asked about his son and replied that he was a liar (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 13:228). The books of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl* (disparagement and praise of narrators) are replete with examples of this nature.

Therefore, this research is an attempt to shed light upon how this methodology developed, why it appeared and how it spread. In order to implement this task efficiently, I have decided to consider al-Bukhārī, one of the greatest scholars who adopted this methodology. Al-Bukhārī wrote extensively about approaches and methods, and indeed played an important role in establishing the principles of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*. I will discuss his life and achievements, and in particular will use a study of one of his books - *al-Ḍu'afā'* (the weak) - to show his use of this methodology.

Background

There are a number of reasons why this study has captured my interest and awakened in me the desire to open its secrets and hidden details. **Firstly** the discipline of *Ḥadīth* Study encompasses the second source of Islam. **Secondly**, the author whose book I have studied is the most famous of all the Muslim scholars of *Ḥadīth*. **Thirdly**, my personal interest in the subject of *Ḥadīth*, having studied its disciplines during my undergraduate degree. **Fourthly**, the effect of one of my close teachers at the Islamic University of Madinah and mentors, °Abd al-°Azīz al-°Abd al-Laṭīf, who has made a great contribution in the field of the methodology of the scholars of *Ḥadīth*, due to

which I too have desired to partake in the study of this field and make a contribution of my own to it. **Fifthly**, the recommendation and wish expressed by the *Ḥadīth* scholars of the past that a detailed study be made of the terminologies of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* and the methodology of the early *Ḥadīth* scholars. **Sixthly**, during the preparation of my final year dissertation at university titled ‘*A study of the chains of disparagement present in the book al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl of Ibn Abī Ḥātim*’, my attention was drawn to the repeated statements of Abū Ḥātim where he claimed that al-Bukhārī had been mistaken in including certain narrators in his book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 9:116). This developed in me the desire to study these biographies in greater detail in order to appreciate fully the matter, and thus I have fulfilled this wish in this research work. **Seventhly**, I have always had an interest in the study of manuscripts, and have wished to make a contribution to this field too.

Aims and objectives

The primary aim of my research is to make a critical analysis of the book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* of Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, and use it as a case study to analyse and understand al-Bukhārī’s method in disparaging individuals (*al-Jarḥ*). There are many studies of the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*, but very few analyse the methodology used in *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*. Thus, it was needed to select an appropriate book of *al-Jarḥ* which was written by an author who contributed to the development of this methodology, and this is what I endeavoured to perform.

There were also a number of other goals intended by this research:

- The presentation of an edited version of the book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, based upon various copies of the manuscripts of the book.

- To clarify that the discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* was not developed without purpose, but rather was the product of the systematic efforts of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in preserving the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*.
- To establish that the printed editions of the book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* that are commonly available cannot to be relied upon, as they were not produced using an academic approach. Hence, these prints do not reconcile with the manuscript versions of the book, rather they clearly contain many omissions.
- To collect all the terms of *al-Jarḥ* that al-Bukhārī has used in this book, and to study them critically, followed by an attempt to understand al-Bukhārī's usage of these terms in relation to the usage of the terms by other scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.
- To rank the different levels of *al-Jarḥ* and to then assign each of the terms used for *al-Jarḥ* into these ranks.
- To expound upon the errors that al-Bukhārī made in this book, based upon the criticisms made against the book by the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* of the past, such as Abū Ḥātim and others.
- To explain the position of this book amongst the other reference works in the discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.

Significance

This study has great significance in the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*, for researchers at all levels – from the contemporary scholars of *Ḥadīth*, both Muslim and non-Muslim, to the common reader of *Ḥadīth*. This significance is from three angles. Firstly, from the perspective of the subject itself, namely the discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.

Secondly, from the perspective of the era in which he lived, namely the third century *hijrī*. Thirdly, from the perspective of the case-study presented, namely al-Bukhārī and his book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. Below I shall elaborate upon each of these perspectives.

Firstly, the discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* has been given importance by the Muslim scholars since early times. Thus, the books of history and *Ḥadīth* contain many discussions on the various issues connected to this discipline. The effort exerted in the study of this discipline goes to show its importance in general. A detailed analysis of the importance of this discipline is given in the books ‘*al-Tamyeez*’ of Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj and ‘*Muqaddimat al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*’ of Ibn Abī Ḥātim.

Secondly, this thesis deals with the era of the third century *hijrī*, which is considered to be the period in which the disciplines of *Ḥadīth* study reached their apex. The discipline moved and developed much over the previous two centuries. However by the third century the science of *Ḥadīth* had become established and the process of collecting and recording *Ḥadīth* became a normative process.

Thirdly, this thesis deals with the author Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, who is accepted to be amongst the greatest Muslim scholars, and has even been conferred the title of ‘Commander of the Believers in *Ḥadīth*’. His status amongst Muslims is well-known to anyone who has studied the history of Islam and Muslim. Also, his book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* is considered to be one of the first books of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* to be written, after the works of Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn and ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī, details of these works and other books of weak narrators are detailed in appendix G.

These three perspectives indicate the importance of this study. In addition to this, as far as I am aware, there are no other works in print that examine al-Bukhārī and his book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* in detail. Also, I hope to present in this study a detailed examination of the terminologies used by al-Bukhārī in *al-Jarḥ*, which has not been performed even in the Arabic literature.

Difficulties faced

In the course of my research I faced a number of difficulties, all of which were concerning the sources of my research. I have depended upon the books of al-Bukhārī in particular, and the books of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* and history in general, which are all in the Arabic language. Initially, this did not seem to be a difficulty, as my mother tongue is Arabic. However, it soon became apparent that translating *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* terminologies, and other disciplines, into English is exceedingly difficult. This then became one of the greatest difficulties I faced during my research. I resolved this issue by keeping these terms in their Arabic form, and transliterating them in English. I have then attempted to explain each of them in English within the text, in addition, I have introduced a glossary that explains much of the terms.

I also found it difficult to obtain copies of some of the Arabic reference books I depended upon, even in University libraries. For example, I was unable to obtain *ʿIlal al-Kabīr* of al-Tirmidhī, despite it being one of the relevant books for my research, as it contains some of al-Bukhārī's rulings on narrators.

There are many reference works, both in English and Arabic, that deal with al-Bukhārī in terms of his life, teachers, knowledge and his books, but none of them

have examined his life in relation to the period of Muslim history in which he lived, and how it affected him. Hence, I was required to read the books of history and then attempt to relate that material to al-Bukhārī's life. This process was useful but laborious.

Also, there are a number of terms of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl* that al-Bukhārī uses that convey contradictory meanings. It was difficult to then determine the intended usage of the term in each individual case. However, overall I did not face any difficulty which I found overwhelming in any way.

Methodology

This thesis consists of two sections, the first being concerned with a critical analysis of *al-Ḍu'afā'*, while the second is concerned with an edition of the manuscript. **In the first section** I have followed the methodology of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* which is built upon two main steps. The first involved reading the manuscript of *al-Ḍu'afā'* many times in order to aggregate all the terms of *al-Jarḥ* that al-Bukhārī has used. I then applied the following method to analyse these terms:

1. Categorisation of these terms into those which al-Bukhārī used himself, and those which he quoted from other scholars.
2. An examination of these terms, both linguistically and technically.
3. Understanding al-Bukhārī's intent in using the term.
4. A comparison of the usage of al-Bukhārī and the standard usage of the term by *Ḥadīth* scholars in general.

The second step in this methodology arises as a consequence of the first. From the study performed, I was able to gather together the criticisms that have been levelled against al-Bukhārī, which I then classified into four types. In collating and classifying these criticisms I have followed the following method:

1. I mentioned the entire biography in which al-Bukhārī was criticised.
2. I mentioned the reason for the criticism, followed by the scholars that criticised al-Bukhārī.
3. I then debated the position of al-Bukhārī on that issue, using the standard principles of the *Ḥadīth* scholars, until I was able to reach a final conclusion on that issue.
4. The sources that I used in performing this research were generally books of history or *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*, as the nature of the research requires that.

The second section of the thesis deals with an edition of the manuscript of *al-Du'afā'*. I shall outline the methodology used in detail in chapter five.

Structure and organisation of chapters

In addition to the Introduction and Conclusion, the main body of this thesis is divided into two sections, as follows:

Section One: A Critical Study of the Manuscript of *al-Du'afā'* of Muḥammad Ibn

Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī

The main body of this section is divided into three parts, as follows:

Part One: Fabrication of *Ḥadīth*

Chapter One: The era when fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began

This chapter outlines the history of the timing of fabrication of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, based upon an analysis of the opinions of the *Ḥadīth* scholars.

Chapter Two: Causes for the appearance of fabrications in *Ḥadīth*

This chapter examines the reasons why fabrication began, and then describes the great effort made by the *Ḥadīth* scholars in combating and preventing the fabrication of Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. Finally, the chapter examines the results of the efforts of the *Ḥadīth* scholars in trying to prevent fabrication.

Part Two: Al-Bukhārī and His Era

Chapter Three: The Era of the Author in Focus

This chapter makes a critical examination of the conditions that existed in the third century *hijrī*, under the rule of the Abbasid caliphs, which is the period during which al-Bukhārī lived. It considers the history of this period from two angles. Firstly, from a socio-political perspective, and secondly from an academic and cultural perspective.

Chapter Four: The Life of the Author in Focus

This chapter analyses the life and person of al-Bukhārī, starting with a study of his name, title, birth and early development, up to a description of his final days and death. All the information in this chapter has been gleaned after a careful and critical study of the books of history and the books of *Ḥadīth* narrators.

Part Three: The Manuscript

Chapter Five: The Work in Focus

This chapter provides an in-depth study of the five manuscripts of *al-Duʿafāʾ*. In it is presented a description of each of these five manuscripts, a checking of the ascription of the book to al-Bukhārī, a verification of the name of the manuscript, and a study of the printed editions of the manuscript. Finally, it presents a study into the academic importance of the manuscript in the discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.

Chapter Six: Al-Bukhārī's method in writing '*al-Duʿafāʾ*'

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of all the terms of disparagement used by al-Bukhārī in the book, organised into thirty one groups. This study has been based upon the information provided in the books of *al-Jarḥ* and the books of Arabic language. The chapter also contains a study of the factors that affected al-Bukhārī's judgment in making disparagement in the book.

Chapter Seven: Criticisms levelled against al-Bukhārī's *al-Duʿafāʾ*

In this chapter is an examination of the criticisms that have been levelled against al-Bukhārī for some of his statements in this manuscript, both from contemporary scholars of *Ḥadīth*, and those who lived after him. These criticisms may be classified into four distinct categories, which are discussed in the chapter.

Section Two: Edition of the manuscript of *al-Duʿafāʾ* of Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī

In this section a complete edited version of the text of the manuscript *al-Duʿafāʾ* is presented, with a comparison between the different extant manuscripts.

Part One:

Fabrication of *Ḥadīth*

Chapter One

Era when fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began

Introduction

There is consensus amongst the scholars of *Ḥadīth* that fabrication did occur, and this in itself is an evidence for the importance of *Ḥadīth*, as it shows that the fabricators understood the esteem that the Muslims held for the *Ḥadīth*. The books of history and *Ḥadīth* have recorded both the details of the centres of learning and the biographies of the narrators of *Ḥadīth*, as well as the events that detail for us the importance that the Muslims gave to the *Ḥadīth*. They have also recorded the stages through which the recording of *Ḥadīth* was achieved. The authors of these books took great care in recording all events that occurred, no matter how trivial, sometimes without even examining their authenticity. However, after studying the opinions of the scholars on era when fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began, I have found narrations in the books of history which indicate the care and effort taken by the Companions and the scholars of the Successors in investigating and accepting *Ḥadīth*. Also, during my research I have found that the scholars have three main opinions regarding the time of the beginning of fabrication. In this chapter I shall discuss in depth the various opinions of the researchers in this regard, however, before that I shall define the Prophetic *Ḥadīth* and explain the importance of the Prophetic traditions in Muslim law.

The definition of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*

Many researchers comment upon the Prophetic traditions and its disciplines, yet explain very little about its linguistic and technical meanings. During the course of my research into the contemporary works present in the English language in the field of *Ḥadīth*, written by Muslims and Orientalists alike, I found that some of them did not even mention the meaning of the phrase '*Ḥadīth*'. Some mentioned the meaning

of the phrase ‘*Ḥadīth*’ but did not mention its connection to the meaning of the term linguistically from the basic sources of linguistic reference (be they dictionaries, the books explaining the difficult words found in *Ḥadīth* or the *Qurʾān* - these being the sole sources of linguistic reference, as mentioned by Guillaume (1924:10), al-Aʿẓamī (1993:1-2), Ṣadīqī (1993:1) and others. There is clearly a very strong relationship between the linguistic definition and the technical definition, which I will clarify utilising practical example from the linguistic sources of reference, books of uncommon words in *Ḥadīth* and Qurʾānic exegesis.

The definition of *Ḥadīth* in the Arabic language

The term ‘*Ḥadīth*’ has many different meanings in the Arabic language. It is mentioned in the *Qurʾān* 23 times in its singular form and five times in its plural form (ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 1988:247-248). These meanings have been mentioned by the scholars of language, difficult wordings of *Ḥadīth* and Qurʾānic exegesis. The term ‘*Ḥadīth*’ or ‘*al-Ḥadīth*’ in the language of the Arabs sometimes means something new, that is, the opposite of old (al-Jawharī, 1984: vol. 1:278; Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 2:131; al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, 1983: vol. 2:24; Ibn al-Athīr, 1963: vol. 1:350-351). For example one would say, “This mosque is new (*Ḥadīth*) and that one is old.” Another example of this usage is from the saying of the Prophet Muḥammad in the *Ḥadīth* of ʿĀʾisha, “Were it not that your people had just recently (*ḥadīthu*) entered into Islam I would have dismantled the *Kaʿabah* and built it on its original foundation” (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 1:488; al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 3:224-225).

The term ‘*al-Ḥadīth*’ sometimes means *al-Qurʾān* as Allāh says (*Qurʾān*, 18:6), *إِنْ لَمْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِهِذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَسَفًا* which means, “if they do not have faith in (*Ḥadīth*) these

words” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 2:704; Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 3:71). He also says (*Qurʾān*, 7:185), *فَبِأَيِّ حَدِيثٍ بَعْدَهُ يُؤْمِنُونَ* Which means, “In what (*Ḥadīth*) discourse after this, then, will they have faith” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 2:182; Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 2:259). Allāh also says (*Qurʾān*, 39:23), *اللَّهُ نَزَّلَ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابًا* which means, “Allāh has sent down the supreme (*Ḥadīth*) discourse, a book” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 4:123; Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 4:52). Allāh also says (*Qurʾān*, 53:59), *أَفَمِنْ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ تَعْجَبُونَ* which means, “Are you then amazed at this (*Ḥadīth*) discourse” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 4:430; Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 4:261). Allāh also says (*Qurʾān*, 56:81), *أَفَبِهَذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَنْتُمْ مُذْهَبُونَ* which means, “Do you nonetheless regard this (*Ḥadīth*) discourse with scorn” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 4:469; Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 4:299). Allāh also says (*Qurʾān*, 68:44), *فَذَرْنِي وَمَنْ يُكَذِّبُ بِهِذَا الْحَدِيثِ* which means, “So leave anyone who denies this *Ḥadīth* (discourse) to me!” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 4:595; Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 4:408). The word ‘*Ḥadīth*’ in all of the preceding verses refers to the *Qurʾān*. Likewise, the Prophet utilized this word for the same meaning, for example, his saying (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 4:109), “The best *Ḥadīth* (discourse) is the book of Allāh.”

Sometimes the word ‘*Ḥadīth*’ or ‘*al-Ḥadīth*’ means *information*; this means any speech that is spoken is called *Ḥadīth*, equally if it is a short sentence or a long sermon. As it is stated in the *Qurʾān* (4:87), *وَمَنْ أَصْدَقُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حَدِيثًا* which means, “And whose *Ḥadīth* (speech) could be truer than Allāh’s.” (Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 1:504). He also says (*Qurʾān*, 4:42), *يَوْمَئِذٍ يَوَدُّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا وَعَصَوُوا الرِّسُولَ لَوْ تُسَوَّى بِهِمُ الْأَرْضُ وَلَا يَكْتُمُونَ* *اللَّهُ حَدِيثًا* which means, “On that day those who disbelieved and disobeyed the Messenger will wish that they were one with the level earth. They will not be able to hide a single *Ḥadīth* (a circumstance) from Allāh” (Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 1:471). He

also says (*Qurʾān*, 66:3), وَإِذْ أَسَرَّ النَّبِيُّ إِلَىٰ بَعْضِ أَزْوَاجِهِ حَدِيثًا which means, “The Prophet confided a *Ḥadīth* (certain matter) to one of his wives” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 4:565). The meaning of ‘*Ḥadīth*’ in each of the preceding verses is any speech that is spoken between two or more people, no matter how long or short, or whether it is public or private. The same meaning is likewise seen in the speech of the Prophet; as in the *Ḥadīth* of Jābir Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, (al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 4:301): “If a man makes a statement (*Ḥadīth*) then departs, then it is a trust.”

Sometimes the term ‘*Ḥadīth*’ or ‘*al-Ḥadīth*’ linguistically means a ‘story’ or an ‘historical account’, as is found in the statement of Allāh (*Qurʾān*, 20:9), وَهَلْ أَتَاكَ حَدِيثُ مُوسَى which means, “Has the *Ḥadīth* (story) of Moses not reached you?” (al-Zamakhsharī, 1986: vol. 3:53; Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 3:139). Also the statement of Allāh (*Qurʾān*, 85:17), هَلْ أَتَاكَ حَدِيثُ ضَيْفِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ which means, “Has the *Ḥadīth* (story) reached you of the legions” (Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 4:497). Also, His statement (*Qurʾān*, 88:1), هَلْ أَتَاكَ حَدِيثُ الْجُنُودِ which means, “Has the *Ḥadīth* (news) of the hosts reached you” (Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 4:503). The same meaning has likewise been transmitted in the speech of the Prophet in the *Ḥadīth*, “Transmit what you hear from me, even if it be but a single verse, and relate the stories of the children of Israel without fear of sin.” (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 2:493).

The plural of *Ḥadīth* is *Aḥādīth*. In general it is more correct to say that the singular of *Aḥādīth* is *Uḥduthah*, as al-Farrāʿ (al-Jawharī, 1984: vol. 1:278) mentioned. However when referring to the *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet, however, the singular is always *Ḥadīth* (Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 2:133).

The definition of *Ḥadīth* in a technical sense as used by the scholars of *Ḥadīth*

The scholars of *Ḥadīth* differed in their definitions of *Ḥadīth*; some giving very lengthy definitions while others very brief. However, the most complete definition is: that which is attributed to the Prophet, whether it be his statement, action, consent, physical characteristic or deportment (Ibn Ḥajar, 1992:52). I will examine examples for each part of this definition to give a clear explanation of it. An example of what is attributed to the Prophet from his statements is the *Ḥadīth* of ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who said (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 1:13), while he was standing on the pulpit, “I heard the Prophet of Allāh say, ‘Verily actions are but by intentions’.”

An example of a *Ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet from his actions is the *Ḥadīth* of ʿĀʾisha who said (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 1:110), “If the Prophet wanted to sleep while in a state of sexual impurity, he would wash his private parts and make ablutions as if for prayer.” An example of a *Ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet in which he consented to something is the *Ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar who said (al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 4:221), “The Prophet was presented a lizard to eat, and it was eaten at his table, though he had none of it. Were it proscribed it would not have been eaten at his table.” There are also *Ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet describing his physical characteristics or deportment. ‘Physical characteristic’ here means a physical description of the Prophet, as in the *Ḥadīth* of Anas Ibn Mālīk who said (al-Tirmidhī, 1993:14), “The Prophet of Allāh was of medium height, neither too tall nor too short; he was of good build, and his hair was neither curly nor lank.” ‘Deportment’ here means a description of the Prophet’s manners, as in the *Ḥadīth* of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī who said (al-Tirmidhī, 1993:187), “The Prophet was shyer than a maiden in her boudoir, and if he disliked something, it was apparent on his face.” These types

of Ḥadīth are found mostly in the Prophetic biographies, *al-Maghāzī*, *al-Shamāʿil* and Muslim history.

It seems then, that the Ḥadīth scholars' technical definition of a Ḥadīth, carries the same meaning as their definition of 'Sunnah'. As Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (al-lālākaʿī, n.d: vol. 1:156) argued that, "The *Sunnah* with us, is simply the narrations of the Prophet of Allāh and the *Sunnah* is the explanation of the *Qurʾān* and is its evidences." However, the Ḥadīth scholars' definition differs from that of the scholars of the principles of jurisprudence; it also differs from the definitions of the scholars of jurisprudence; likewise it differs from the definitions of the scholars of creed and spirituality. Many researchers have detailed these meanings including Muḥammad ʿAjāj (1993:14-22).

The definition of *al-Khabar* and *al-Athar* in the terminology of the Ḥadīth scholars

There are two other terms that are used with the same meaning as Ḥadīth, namely *Athar* and *Khabar*. The Ḥadīth scholars have also differed in their definitions, but I will attempt to clarify their respective definitions. The terms Ḥadīth and *khabar* are linguistic synonyms, but the term Ḥadīth has developed a more specific meaning than *khabar*. It is used in the context of religion and not in a general sense.

There are three opinions mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (1992:52-53). The first opinion is that they are synonyms, and this is the opinion of the majority of the Ḥadīth scholars, including Ibn Ḥajar himself. The second opinion is that a *khabar* is attributed to other than the Prophet of Allāh, like the Companions or those that followed them and other than them. For this reason, the one who is occupied with historical accounts is called

an ‘*Akhbārī*’, while the one who is occupied with the Prophetic traditions is called a ‘*Muḥaddith*’. The third opinion is that every Ḥadīth is a *khavar*, but the opposite is not true. One is general and the other specific. Unfortunately, despite lengthy research, I was unable to find examples of scholars who held the second and third opinions.

The second word is *al-Athar*, and there again multiple opinions (al-Nawawī, 1989: vol. 1:184-185; al-Sakhāwī, 1992: vol. 1:124) regarding its definition. The Ḥadīth scholars said it was a synonym for *khavar*, although some amongst them used it to mean the *Marfūʿ* Ḥadīth (those attributed to the Prophet without a fullchain) as well as the *Mawqūf* Ḥadīth (those attributed to the Prophet’s Companions). As for the jurists of *Khurāsān*, *Athar* to them was a *Mawqūf* Ḥadīth, while *Khavar* was a *Marfūʿ* Ḥadīth.

In short, the word ‘Ḥadīth’ refers to that which is attributed to the Prophet whether it is a saying of his, his action, consent, a physical characteristic or deportment. However, sometimes it may mean that which is attributed to a Companion or a successor. More commonly, though, if attribution to other than the Prophet were intended, the phrase would be appended as *Ḥadīth Mawqūf* or *Ḥadīth Maqtūʿ*. When the phrase ‘*Khavar*’ or ‘*Athar*’ is used, it may be referring to what is attributed to the Prophet or what is attributed to a Companion or to a successor. This is the opinion of the majority of the scholars, with the sole exception of the jurists of *Khurāsān*, who called the *Mawqūf Athar* and called the *Marfūʿ Khavar*.

The importance of the Prophetic traditions in Muslim law

Having explained the linguistic and technical definitions of the word '*Ḥadīth*' as used by the *Ḥadīth* scholars, and before commencing the discussion on when the Prophetic traditions were actually recorded and also before discussing the issue of lying with regards to the Prophetic traditions, it would be appropriate for me to explain the importance of the Prophetic traditions in Islam, as background to the discussion and argument to follow. This subject has considerable bearing upon Muslim Law, which is of the greatest importance in Islam, since it defines for Muslims what is lawful and what is prohibited. The Prophetic traditions are known to be the second source of Islamic Law after the *Qurʾān*. In fact, it goes hand in hand with the primary source of Muslim law, namely the *Qurʾān*. Allāh says (*Qurʾān*, 16:44), وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الذِّكْرَ لِتُبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ, which means, “We have sent down the (*Qurʾān*) reminder to you so that you can make clear to mankind what has been sent down to them.”

This relationship between Prophetic traditions and Muslim law is complex enough to be treated as a separate thesis of research. Since it and its importance are discussed in depth in the study of Muslim Jurisprudence, I will not cover it in detail here. More details can be found in the book '*al-Sunnah wa Makānatuhā fī al-Tashrīʿ al-Islāmī*' of Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī.

The Prophetic traditions clarify the meaning and intentions of Qur'ānic verses

Many verses of the *Qur'ān* are general, without specific details. In these cases it is the Prophetic traditions that clarify the intended meanings of the *Qur'ān*. This may be from four angles.

Taqyīd al-Muṭlaq (restricting the unrestricted): As in the *Ḥadīth* that explains the meaning of 'yad' in the statement of Allāh (*Qur'ān*, 5:38), *وَالسَّارِقُ وَالسَّارِقَةُ فَاقْطَعُوا أَيْدِيَهُمَا* which means, "As for thieves, both male and female, cut off their hands 'yad'." The word *yad* linguistically can mean hand or the forearm or even the arm. However the Prophetic traditions explain and restrict the meaning to the cutting of the hand only.

Tafṣīl al-Mujmal (detailing the general concept): The Prophetic traditions which detail acts of worship and legislations provide examples of this form, such as the prayer, which is the second pillar of Islam. Allāh obligated the prayer in the *Qur'ān*, but did not mention its times nor its pillars nor the number of *Raka'āt* (bowing) in each prayer. However the Prophetic traditions detail all the matters related to prayer. Another example of this is the pilgrimage. Allāh obligated it in many verses of the *Qur'ān*, without detailing its rites. The Prophetic traditions detail all the rites of pilgrimage. Likewise, alms giving, Allāh obligated it in many well known verses of the *Qur'ān* but did not detail its rulings and regulations. The Prophetic traditions detailed all the rulings and regulations related to it.

Takhṣīṣ al-Ām (constricting of the general): As in the statement of Allāh (*Qur'ān*, 4:11), *يُوصِيكُمُ اللَّهُ فِي أَوْلَادِكُمُ لِلذَّكَرِ مِثْلُ حَظِّ الْأُنثِيَيْنِ*, which means, "Allāh instructs you

regarding your children inheritance; a male receives the share of two females.” This verse contains a general ruling regarding the inheritance of children; a ruling that is in principle regarding every child. The Prophetic traditions have constricted this ruling so as not to include the Prophet of Allāh since he said, “We prophets are not inherited from. Whatever we leave is charity” (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 4:236). Likewise the ruling is constricted so as not to include the killer of the deceased by the Prophet’s statement, ‘The killer does not inherit’ (al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 4:370). Another example is the statement of Allāh (*Qurʾān*, 6:82), الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَلَمْ يَلْبِسُوا إِيمَانَهُمْ بِظُلْمٍ which means, “Those who have faith and do not mix up their faith with wrongdoing.” The Companions of the Prophet understood this wrongdoing to be in a generic sense, but the Prophetic traditions restricted this meaning to be polytheism; as one of the Companions asked the Prophet, “and which of us does not wrong his own self,” to which the Prophet replied (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 2:462), “It does not mean that, it’s only polytheism that is meant.”

***Tawdīḥ al-Mushkil* (clarifying that which is unclear):** An example of this is the clarification of the meaning of the two threads in Allāh’s statement (*Qurʾān*, 2:187), وَكُلُوا وَاشْرَبُوا حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكُمُ الْخَيْطُ الْأَبْيَضُ مِنَ الْخَيْطِ الْأَسْوَدِ مِنَ الْفَجْرِ which means, “Eat and drink until you can clearly discern the white thread from the black thread.” Some of the Companions understood this to mean the white shoelace from the black shoelace so the Prophet said (al-Bukhārī, 1980: vol. 3:198), “It is the white of dawn from the black of night.”

The Prophetic traditions sometimes affirm and emphasize what the *Qurʾān* says

An example of this is the Prophet's statement, "Fear Allāh with regard to your wives, for verily they are a trust. You took them as a trust from Allāh, and their private parts were made lawful to you with the word of Allāh" (al-Hindī, 1989: vol. 16:378). The *Ḥadīth* agrees with and emphasizes the statement of Allāh in the *Qurʾān* (4:19), *وَعَاشِرُوهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ* which means, "Live together with them correctly and courteously." Another example is found in the Prophet's statement, "It is not permissible to take from the wealth of a Muslim except that which he gladly gives" (al-Hindī, 1989: vol. 1:92). This *Ḥadīth* agrees with and emphasizes the statement of Allāh (*Qurʾān*, 4:29), *يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَالَكُمْ بَيْنَكُمْ بِالْبَاطِلِ* which means, "You who have faith! Do not consume one another's property by false means." Of course there are many other examples of this.

Sometimes the Prophetic traditions point to rulings that the *Qurʾān* did not mention

An example of this is the Prophet's statement when asked about sea water, "Its water is pure and its dead are lawful" (al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 1:100-101). Further examples are those Prophetic traditions that show the prohibition of eating any predator with canines and any bird of prey with claws. Yet more examples are those Prophetic traditions that show the prohibition of eating donkeys.

Sometimes the Prophetic traditions abrogate a ruling present in the *Qurʾān*.

Since this is a matter that the scholars of the principles of jurisprudence differed over, only those who believed that the *Qurʾān* could be abrogated by the *Sunnah* allow it. For this reason many examples are found in the *Ḥanafī* school of jurisprudence who believed the *Sunnah* was an addition to the *Qurʾān* by way of

abrogation. An example of this is the *Ḥadīth*: “(The punishment for) a virgin (who had illegal sexual intercourse) with a virgin is one hundred lashes and exile for a year” (Ibn Kathīr, 1988: vol. 1:438). This *Ḥadīth* abrogates the verse (*Qurʾān*, 4:15), *وَاللّٰتِي يَأْتِيْنَ الْفَاحِشَةَ مِنْ نِّسَائِكُمْ* which means, “If any of your women commit fornication ...” Another example is the *Ḥadīth*, “there is no bequest (of the deceased) for one who inherits (from him)” (al-Hindī, 1989: vol. 16:615). The *Ḥanafī* scholars said that this *Ḥadīth* abrogates the ruling of a bequest for the parents, close relatives and inheritors that is established by His statement (*Qurʾān*, 2:180), *كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَكُمُ الْمَوْتُ إِن تَرَكَ خَيْرًا الْوَصِيَّةُ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ حَقًّا عَلَى الْمُتَّقِينَ لِلْوَالِدَيْنِ وَالْأَقْرَبِينَ* which means, “It is prescribed for you, when death approaches one of you and he has some wealth to leave, to make a bequest in favour of his parents and relatives, correctly and fairly; a duty for all those who have piety.”

In short, *Ḥadīth* have great importance and standing in Islam. Further, the *Qurʾān* has made clear to us that the speech of the Prophet is not like the speech of anyone else. Allāh said (*Qurʾān*, 53:3), *وَمَا يَنْطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَىٰ* which means, “Nor does he speak from whim.” Allāh also said (*Qurʾān*, 59:7), *وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ* , meaning, “Whatever the messenger gives you, you should accept and whatever he forbids you, you should forgo.”

Opinions on the era when fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began

1. Fabrication of *Ḥadīth* during the lifetime of the Prophet

Some of those who read the *Ḥadīth* “whoever lies against me deliberately, then let him take his place in the fire” (al-Bukhārī; 1980. vol. 1:55), thought that the Messenger of Allāh only said this after some occurrence during his lifetime that drove him to say this. Those who hold this opinion are Aḥmad Amīn, Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Zahwū and others. I shall discuss here the statements of Aḥmad Amīn and Abū Zahwū.

Aḥmad Amīn (1930:211) claimed that,

It is apparent that fabrication occurred even in the time of the Messenger and the *Ḥadīth* ‘Whosoever intentionally lies against me, let him take his abode in the Hellfire’ suggests with overwhelming probability that it was said by the Prophet regarding incidents where false statements were attributed to the Prophet. After the death of the Prophet, lying against him became easier while authenticating reports from him became harder.

Amīn, As is apparent from the above statement is unaware that there are versions of this *Ḥadīth* which mention the reason behind the Prophet making this statement. Thus, firstly Aḥmad Amīn has arrived at his conclusion based upon overwhelming probability, rather than firm evidence, and it is inappropriate to base one’s conclusions on what one suspects. Secondly, I shall mention the narrations of this *Ḥadīth* which mention the reason for the Prophet making this statement, and then we shall critically discuss them. The *matn* (text) of this *Ḥadīth*, which Aḥmad Amīn has mentioned, is not only a *Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth* (authentic), but is actually *Mutawātir* (consecutive), having been narrated through very many chains. Ibn Ḥajar (1986: vol. 1:245) said, “from all of them are obtained a hundred narrations from the Companions, according to what I have sifted from that which is *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ḥasan* (good), *Ḍa‘īf* (unauthentic) and *Saqīf* (very weak).” Ibn Ḥajar also said, “al-Nawawī

(1987: vol. 1:65-72) has mentioned that it has been narrated by two hundred of the Companions; and due to the large number of chains of its narration a *Ḥadīth* scholars have ascribed it as *Mutawātir*.” It is not necessary to examine all of these narrations here, as the only narrations that are of importance to us are those which explain the reason behind the Prophet making this statement. After research, it seems that all these narrations are from three Companions, namely Usāmah Ibn Zayd, Buraydah Ibn al-Ḥuṣayb, and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAmr.

The *Ḥadīth* of Usāmah Ibn Zayd

It was narrated by Ibn al-Najjār, as mentioned by Ibn Ḥusām al-Hindī in ‘*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*’ (1989: vol. 10:298), that Usāmah Ibn Zayd said, “The Messenger of Allāh said, ‘Whosoever intentionally lies against me, let him take his abode in the Hellfire’, and that was because the Prophet sent a man for an errand, and he lied against the Prophet, so they found his dead body, which would be thrown up by the Earth (when he was buried).” Ibn Ḥusām al-Hindī said (1989: vol. 10:298), “(This *Ḥadīth*) was narrated by Ibn al-Najjār. In its chain of narrators is al-Wāziʿ Ibn Nāfiʿ who is not considered *thiqah* (trustworthy).” Ibn Maʿīn said about al-Wāziʿ Ibn Nāfiʿ (1980b:103), “*laysa bi shayʾ*” (He is nothing).” Al-Bukhārī said about him (1986a:122) “*munkar al-Ḥadīth* (His narrations are rejected).” al-Nasāʾī (1986:243) said about him, “*matrūk* (abandoned).” Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal said about him (1988:69), “*laysa bi thiqah* (not trustworthy)”. Thus this *Ḥadīth* is considered to be weak and cannot be accepted as evidence of the fact that fabrication occurred during the lifetime of the Prophet.

The Ḥadīth of Buraydah Ibn al-Ḥuṣayb

His narration comes from various chains up to ʿAlī Ibn Mushir, from Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ḥayyān, from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Buraydah, from his father who said:

There was an area about two miles from Madinah, inhabited by Banī Layth. During the time of *Jāhiliyyah* (pre-Muslim period), a man had been engaged to a woman from amongst them, but later they did not marry her to him. This man then came to them wearing a suit of clothes, and said: ‘Verily, the Messenger of Allāh clothed me with this suit, and ordered me to judge between you with regards to your wealth and blood.’ He then forced himself upon the woman, whom he had loved, so the people sent to the Prophet asking him about this man, to which the Prophet replied: ‘the enemy of Allāh has lied.’ He then sent a messenger to the people, who told them: ‘If you find him alive, and I do not think that you will, then strike his neck. And if you find him dead then burn his body.’ The man was later found dead, having been bitten by a snake, so they burnt his body. And that was the reason for the statement of the Prophet: ‘Whosoever intentionally lies against me, let him take his abode in the Hellfire’.

This was narrated by Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 5:81-82). However, in the chain of narrators of this Ḥadīth is Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ḥayyān. Ibn Maʿīn (1980a:134) argued that he was a weak narrator. Al-Bukhārī (1986b: vol. 4:275) argued, “*fīhī naẓar* (There are problems with him). Al-Nasāʾī (1986:194) argued, “*laysa bithiqah*”. Likewise this Ḥadīth being weak excludes it from being an evidence for the claim that fabrication began during the time of the Prophet.

The Ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAmr

A similar narration was narrated by al-Ṭabarānī who said (1995: vol. 2:318),

Aḥmad said, that Abū Ṭalḥah Mūsā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāʿī said, that Aḥmad Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī said, that Wuhayb Ibn Khālīd said, that ʿAṭāʾ Ibn al-Sāʾib said, that his father said, that ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAmr said that a man wore a suit of clothes similar to the dress of the Prophet, and then came to one of the houses of Madinah, and said: “The Prophet has given me power to investigate any of the families of Madinah.” They replied, “We have made our covenant with the Messenger of Allāh, and he does not command evil.” So they prepared a house for him, and then sent a messenger to the Prophet to inform him of what had happened. On hearing the news, the Prophet said to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, “Both of you go to him, and if you find him alive then kill him, and burn his body. If you find him already dead, then burn his body. However, I do not think you will find him alive.” So they, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, came upon him and found that he had left his house during the night in order to relieve himself, whereupon he was bitten by a snake and killed. So they burned his body with fire, and then returned to the Prophet and informed him of what had occurred. Upon hearing their story, the Prophet said, ‘Whosoever intentionally lies against me let him take his abode in the Hellfire.’

After narrating the *Ḥadīth*, al-Ṭabarānī (1995: vol. 2:318) argued, “It is not narrated from ‘Aṭā’ except by Wuhayb, and not from Wuhayb except by Aḥmad Ibn Ishāq, from whom only Abū Ṭalḥah narrated it.” In the chain of narrators of this *Ḥadīth* is ‘Aṭā’ Ibn al-Sā’ib. Al-Haythamī (1986: vol. 1:150) argued about the *Ḥadīth*, “It is narrated by al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ*, and in its chain of narrators is ‘Aṭā’ Ibn al-Sā’ib, who is known for mixing up narrations.” Abū Ṭālib said (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 6:333-334), “I asked Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal about ‘Aṭā’ Ibn al-Sā’ib, and he replied, ‘Whoever heard from him early on in his life is *Ṣaḥīḥ*, while whoever heard from him later on in his life is not to be accepted. Those who heard from him early on are Shu‘bah and Sufyān, while those who heard from him later on were Jarīr, Khālīd Ibn ‘Abd Allāh, Ismā‘īl Ibn ‘Ulayyah, and ‘Alī Ibn ‘Āṣim. He used to declare as *Marfū‘* (elevated) narrations from Sa‘īd Ibn Jubayr which he (Sa‘īd) himself did not declare *Marfū‘*. Wuhayb said, ‘Aṭā’ mixed up narrations when he went to Basra. I wrote (from ‘Aṭā’) thirty narrations by way of ‘Abīdah, and he did not hear anything from ‘Abīdah, so this is a major confusion’.” Abū Ḥātim (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 6:333-334) argued, “In the *Aḥādīth* of the people of Basra who have narrated from ‘Aṭā’, one finds a great deal of mixing-up, as he (‘Aṭā’) came to them towards the end of his life.” Wuhayb Ibn Khālīd, who narrates from ‘Aṭā’ in this *isnād* (chain of narrators) is from Basra, and has thus narrated from ‘Aṭā’ after he began to mix up his narrations, and Abū Dāwūd has also mentioned this (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 31:164-168). As with the previous two *Aḥādīth*, the classification of the *Ḥadīth* as being weak means it cannot be used as evidence for the claim of Aḥmad Amīn.

Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Zahwū (1984:480) has also mentioned the same opinion in his statement,

Due to this, the scholars consider the beginning of fabrication of Ḥadīth to be from 41 AH / 661 CE. However, this limitation is with regards to Ḥadīth narrations. Apart from that, we find lying against the Prophet to have occurred before that, even in his lifetime. Due to this the Prophet said, ‘Whosoever intentionally lies against me, let him take his abode in the Hellfire.’ He must have made this statement regarding an incident which occurred during his lifetime, in which someone lied against him.

It appears to me that there is a contradiction in Abū Zahwū’s statement, as he asserts that fabrication began in 41 AH / 661 CE, and yet at the same time he claims that lying against the Prophet was present even during his lifetime, even if he says that this was very rare. So how can he claim both of these, unless he considers lying against the Prophet to be different to fabricating Ḥadīth, and they are not. I have present a discussion on his claim that fabrication started in 41 AH / 661 CE, along with the others who claim this.

Secondly, after asserting that lying against the Prophet began during his lifetime, he is aware that such a claim requires a strong evidence from either historical records or from the *Sunnah*, and hence he presents the well known *mutawātir* (consecutive) Ḥadīth “Whosoever intentionally lies against me, let him take his abode in the Hellfire” and the incidents which have been narrated as preceding it. However, as we have already seen, these narrations are *ḍa‘īf* and cannot be used as evidence.

Thirdly, I am astounded by his statement, as he has written his book in defence of the *Sunnah*, knowing the difference between those narrations which are acceptable and those which are rejected. Yet, he still brings as proof narrations which carry no weight, and has obtained them from the book of Ibn ‘Adī which presents some of the

ḍaʿīf Ḥadīth and their narrators, and from the book of al-Suyūṭī which similarly warns against fabricated Ḥadīth.

In short, none of these *Aḥādīth* are authentic, and this is seen from two angles. First, all of the chains of these *Aḥādīth* are *ḍaʿīf*, as has been illustrated. However, it has been suggested that these different *ḍaʿīf* narrations strengthen one another, and show that they must have some basis. The answer to this suggestion is that the weakness that exists in these *Aḥādīth* is of a severe type which does not allow strengthening through multiple chains. In order for multiple weak chains to strengthen one another, the weakness must be light and not severe (Ibn Rajab, 1987: vol. 1:371; al-Albānī, 1989:31). Secondly, in addition to this, in the *matn* of these *Aḥādīth* are irregularities and contradictions¹. The irregularity being that it is stated that the Prophet ordered his Companions to burn the man, which opposes what is known from the *sharīʿah* (Islamic law) that it is not allowed to punish by fire (Abū Dāwūd, 1970: vol. 3:124). Also, it is known from the whole *sīrah* (life of the Prophet) that he never ordered the burning of a dead body. The contradiction that occurs is that in the Ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAmr it states that the Prophet sent Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, while in another narration it states that he sent ʿAlī and al-Zubayr (Fallātah, 1981: vol. 1:185), while in the narration of Buraydah it states that he sent ‘a man’. These are contradictions that cannot be reconciled.

However, for the sake of argument, even if we consider these *Aḥādīth* to be *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and that this is a true incident that occurred during the lifetime of the Prophet, then it is the only such incident that has reached us which involves lying against the Prophet

¹- A ‘contradiction’ according to the scholars of Ḥadīth is: ‘That the narrators differ with one another regarding a particular teacher, or that they differ in other similar angles such that it is not possible to prefer one over another.’ See (Ibn Kathīr, 1995: vol. 1:221-223; Ibn Ḥajar, 1984: vol. 2:773; al-Sakhāwī, 1992: vol. 1:274-280).

during his lifetime. This narration thus makes clear that the punishment of one who fabricates and lies against the Prophet occurs both in this life and the Hereafter. What I have said is strengthened by the fact that, as is well known, throughout the Prophetic *sīrah* there have been hypocrites who have lived along side the Muslim society, many of whom were unknown even to the Prophet. Despite this, it is not established from historical reports, except these weak *Aḥādīth* that I have mentioned here, that any of them tried, even once, to fabricate a saying of the Prophet.

Amīn (1930:211) then claimed, “After the Prophet’s death, lying against him became easier, and authenticating reports from him became harder.” Thus, it is as though what he has said prior to this is a preface to his conclusions that, firstly, lying against the Prophet became easier after his death, and secondly, authenticating his sayings became increasingly difficult. No doubt, what is intended from these conclusions is the creation of doubt in the authenticity of the Prophetic *Sunnah* (sayings, actions and approvals of the Prophet), leading to its rejection.

2. Fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the year 40 AH / 660 CE or 41 AH / 661 CE

The second opinion with regards to fabrication of *Ḥadīth* is 30 years after the death of the Prophet. The scholars who adopted this opinion did so because they looked to the great position the Companions were conferred upon by Allāh and His Messenger; and the manner in which they led their lives during the time of the Messenger. Likewise their eagerness in propagating in detail what they had learned from him, exactly as they had learned it. They agreed that fabrications entered into the religion of Islam after the year 40 AH / 660 CE. Here I shall mention the opinions of the *Ḥadīth* scholars in this regard, and then discuss them together. Most Muslim scholars

of recent times have adopted this opinion, such as Muṣṭafā al-Sibā[°]ī, Muḥammad [°]Ajāj al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Shahbah, Nūr al-Dīn [°]Atr, [°]Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah, Muḥammad Abū Zahwū, Musfir al-Dumaynī and Akram al-[°]Umarī. Below I shall discuss their statements.

Muṣṭafā al-Sibā[°]ī (1985:75-76) claimed that,

The year 41 *hijrī* is the divider between the pure *Sunnah* and that which is mixed with lies and fabrications. It also marks the divider when exaggeration began, and when it began to be used to further the ends of political movements and internal divisions. When the differences between [°]Alī and Mu[°]āwīyah began to take on a more military form; it was used to justify the shedding of blood. Later, when the Muslims split into many sects ... the first reason for fabricating *Ḥadīth* was with regards to the virtues of individuals.

It appears to me after examining his statement, that he has based his opinion upon two arguments. Firstly, he uses as proof the political differences and internal divisions which occurred between [°]Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu[°]āwīyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, and after that the appearance of the *Khawārij* (a sect who rebelled against the rule of [°]Alī the fourth Caliph) and the *Shī[°]ah* (a sect who only consider [°]Alī to be superior in virtue to [°]Uthmān, without rejecting the first two Caliphs, Abū Bakr and [°]Umar). I agree with al-Sibā[°]ī in the reality of these occurrences and these being causes for the appearance of fabrication, but I differ his specification of the year 41 AH / 661 CE as its beginning. He fails to mention even one *Ḥadīth* which provides proof for this proposition. Secondly, he mentions that initially the fabricators forged *Ḥadīth* regarding the virtues of individuals, and he quotes using the manner of uncertainty (*yuqālu*) that the *Shī[°]ah* were the first to fabricate *Ḥadīth*. He relied upon the statements of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd. It may be that Muṣṭafā al-Sibā[°]ī's postulate is true, and, indeed, after research I found that most of the fabrications are regarding the virtues of individuals. However, to state that the *Shī[°]ah* were the first to fabricate

Ḥadīth requires research of its own. This may be true, especially since he uses as proof the statement of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in his explanation of *Nahj al-Balāghah*, which is depended upon by the *Shīʿah*. However, Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī is uncertain when stating that the *Shīʿah* were the first to fabricate, and then proceeds to say this is a proof that fabrication began in the year 41 AH / 661 CE. Clearly, it is unacceptable to use this as proof in attempting to fix the year in which fabrication began.

Muḥammad ʿAjāj al-Khaṭīb (1981:187-189) claimed that,

The Prophetic *Ḥadīth* remained pure and free from falsity and alteration, throughout the period that the Muslim nation was united behind the four rightly guided Caliphs, before it split into the *Shīʿah* and various other sects, and before the people of desires and compromise broke up its ranks. The first event, upon which many of the conflicts of the first century after *hijrah* were based, was the *fitnah* that occurred with ʿUthmān, and his subsequent martyrdom. This event shook the Muslim world, and through it the Muslim nation inherited many severe consequences, and its effects have continued till the present day.

Similar to Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī, Muḥammad ʿAjāj al-Khaṭīb mentions reasons for the beginning of fabrications – namely the *fitnah* caused by the killing of the third Caliph, and then tries to use this as proof for specifying the date of the beginning of fabrication. Again, I agree with his description of the causes for fabrication, but cannot accept his specification of the year 41 AH / 661 CE based upon that solely, without providing a clear *Ḥadīth* which specifies it so.

Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Shahbah (1988:20-21) claimed that, after talking about Ibn Sabāʿ,

(He) fabricated against the Prophet the *Ḥadīth* that ‘for every Prophet there is a *Waṣiyy* (regent, successor), and my *Waṣiyy* is ʿAlī’ ... and the culmination of this was that the *fitnah* tore away a pillar from amongst the pillars of Islam, namely the Fourth Caliphate. Thus, sectarianism and differences began to manifest themselves in the Muslim Nation, while the diseases of the previous nations crawled closer towards her; and the *fitnah* brought forth new groups amongst the people: Firstly, *Shīʿah*, who supported ʿAlī; secondly *ʿUthmāniyyah*, who supported ʿUthmān; thirdly *Khawārij*, who opposed the

Shī‘ah and other than them; and fourthly *Marwānīyyah*, who supported Mu‘āwīyah and the *Umayyads*. Some of these groups made permissible for themselves the strengthening of their positions by any means necessary; and there was no other way for them to do this than through the use of Ḥadīth - from judicial rulings to Qur’ānic exegeis to the Prophetic history. All this happened around the year 40 after *hijrah*.

He has based his opinion upon two arguments. Firstly, the appearance of sects which tried to strengthen their positions through fabrications. However, again, this cannot be used to specify the date of the beginning of fabrication, despite being a valid reason for the beginning of fabrication. Secondly, he mentions a Ḥadīth which he claims was fabricated by ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Sabā’, who expressed Shi’ism, and seems to use this Ḥadīth to claim that fabrication began in the year 40 AH / 660 CE. However, this claim can be refuted from two angles. Firstly, he does not mention the reference for this Ḥadīth so that one can examine its chain or study the reasons for its being said. Secondly, after searching for this Ḥadīth I managed to find it mentioned by Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (1939: vol. 4:340) in his ‘*Tārīkh*’. I will not quote the extract here due to its length, but will suffice by saying that in this extract ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Sabā’ mentions a concoction of ideas designed to corrupt the beliefs of the people, but he does not directly attribute any saying to the Prophet. How could he do so when the Companions were present around him, and would have exposed his lies? Thus, this is not usable as a proof to establish the date when fabrication began.

Nūr al-Dīn ‘Atr (1981:55) claimed that,

Then the century of *fitnah* appeared, which produced the murder of the oppressed Caliph ‘Uthmān Ibn ‘Affān, and the various sects appeared, and the innovators began to search for support for their ideologies from the texts (of the *Qur’ān* and *Sunnah*), and hence decided to fabricate Ḥadīth in their favour. Thus they falsely attributed to the Prophet that which he did not say, and the beginning of this fabrication of Ḥadīth was in the year 41 *hijrī*.

°Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (n.d:36-39) claimed that,

After it has become clear that the primary cause for the introduction of criticism of narrators and questioning the chains of narration, was the *fitnah* which produced the murder of the third Caliph °Uthmān Ibn °Affān. In the light of what has preceded, it is possible to specify the time when fabrication of Ḥadīth began, as the end of the middle of the first century after *hijrah*. We can also specify the time when examination and criticism of Ḥadīth and their chains began, as the beginning of the time of the successors. Thus we know that there was never any breach between the *Sunnah* and its protectors which could have been used by the innovators and people of desires to surreptitiously enter into the *Sunnah* their fabrications, and have them accepted by the scholars.

Muḥammad Abū Zahwū (1984:480) claimed that,

When °Alī was given the oath of allegiance for the Caliphate, and the events between him and Mu°āwiyah occurred at *Ṣiffīn*, then the people divided into the *Shī°ah*, the *Khawārij* and the Majority, as we have seen. At this point lying against the Prophet appeared, and it came to be practised by the *Shī°ah*, the *Khawārij* and the proponents of *Banū Umayyah*. Due to this, the scholars have considered the beginning of fabrication of Ḥadīth to be from this time, that is 41 *hijrī*.

Musfir al-Dumaynī (1995:30) claimed that,

The correct saying is that of the well known, famous scholars, that fabrication began at the end of the Caliphate of °Uthmān, or, as they say, after the *fitnah*, namely the *fitnah* of the killing of °Uthmān, or the *fitnah* of *al-Khawārij*. Ibn Sīrīn said, ‘The scholars did not ask about the chain of narrators of a Ḥadīth, until the *fitnah* occurred. Then they began to ask, “Name for us your narrators.” So when they would come across a man from *Ahl al-Sunnah* they would accept his narrations, and when they would come across a man from amongst the people of innovation they would reject his narrations.

These scholars have all built their opinions upon two arguments. Firstly, all of them consider the *fitnah* in question to be that whose century began by the killing of °Uthmān Ibn °Affān. Also, they consider the splitting and dissension of the Muslim community to have commenced after this tribulation, as well as the battles between °Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu°āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, and that this was the primary reason for the appearance of fabrication of the Ḥadīth of the Prophet.

Secondly, all of them have also referred to, even if it may not have been clearly, the statement attributed to Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn (Muslim; 1987: vol. 1:84), that he said, “The scholars did not used to ask about the chain of narrators of a Ḥadīth, until the

tribulations occurred. Then they began to ask, ‘Name for us your narrators.’ So when they would come across a man from *Ahl al-Sunnah* they would accept his narrations, and when they would come across a man from amongst the people of innovation they would reject his narrations.” Of those whom I have quoted, Abū Ghuddah and al-Dumaynī have clearly used this text as evidence. Thus, the *fitnah* that has been mentioned by Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn in this narration has been understood to be the murder of ʿUthmān Ibn ʿAffān and that which occurred after it from the splitting of the Muslims into sects, the asking of clarification of the narrators of Ḥadīth due to the appearance of fabrication, and the emergence of dissension within the community. However, it is appropriate to mention at this point that there are other opinions regarding the meaning of the ‘*fitnah*’ in the narration of Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn, and these opinions shall be examined later. In any case, this statement of Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn cannot be used to specify the date of the beginning of fabrication, just as I have argued above regarding Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī and Muḥammad Muḥammad Abū Shahbah.

Akram al-ʿUmarī (1984:22-23) claimed that,

During the second half of the Caliphate of ʿUthmān many differences and splits appeared within the Muslim community. So when some of them expounded hatred for ʿUthmān they ignited the *fitnah* which led to his killing, and the effects of this event, which shattered the Muslim Society, remain present to this day. It produced rancour and malice, and it removed the purity of heart from many individuals. Also, we do not find during the Caliphate of ʿUthmān Prophetic narrations which are suggestive of fabrication; as for that which is mentioned by Abū Thawr al-Fahmī, when he said that when he approached ʿUthmān, then Ibn ʿUdays ascended the pulpit and said, ‘Verily, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Masʿūd narrated to me that he heard the Messenger of Allāh say, ‘Verily ʿUthmān is more misguided than a salve girl upon her husband’ So they informed ʿUthmān of what he said, and he replied, ‘He has lied. I swear by Allāh, Ibn ʿUdays did not hear that from Ibn Masʿūd nor did Ibn Masʿūd hear that from the Messenger of Allāh.’ This narration is not authentic from the perspective of its chain of narrators, for two reasons. Firstly, in its chain is *Inqīṭāʿ* (an interruption). Secondly, it is narrated by Ibn Lahīʿah, and he is known to be excessive in his partisanship to the *Shīʿah*, and hence we cannot accept from him a narration which is in agreement with his ideology and desires, in its criticism and slander of ʿUthmān. Thus it becomes clear that fabrication of Ḥadīth increased after that due to the effect of the political turmoil and dissension which occurred between the Muslims, such as the incident of the *al-Jaml*, and *Ṣiffīn*, and *Nahrawān*, as all of these incidents were the cause for the emergence of

the political sects, such as the *Shī'ah* and the *Khawārij*. And whenever these sects found that the text of the *Qur'ān* did not support their ideology, some of them began to resort to lying to strengthen their positions. Since they had neither the scope nor ability to play with the *Qur'ān*, which was protected in the hearts of those who had memorised it, as it had been completed, collated and put into practise well before the *fitnah* began, so they turned towards fabricating the sayings of the Prophet whose collation and collection began later than the *Qur'ān*.

Similar to Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī and others, Akram al-°Umarī has mentioned some of the reasons for the beginning of fabrication – such as the wars which occurred between the Companions – but this alone cannot be used to fix its date as 40 AH / 660 CE. Secondly, he mentions the story of °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn °Udays, but this evidence can be refuted from two angles. Firstly, the story is not authentic, as I shall discuss under the opinion of °Umar Ibn Hasan Fallātah, as he used the same story as evidence. Secondly, it is strange that Akram al-°Umarī mentions himself at the end of the story that it is not authentic, and then proceeds to use it as a proof. Hence, by his own judgement, this story is not suitable as evidence.

In short, I would argue that this opinion is not based upon clear unequivocal proofs that can specify the date of the beginning of fabrication as 40 AH / 660 CE or 41 AH / 661 CE. Despite this, the general arguments presented are acceptable, and provide the causes for the beginning of fabrication; such as the killing of the third Caliph °Uthmān Ibn °Affān, the killing of the fourth Caliph °Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the appearance of *Shi'ism*, and the *Khawārij*.

3. Fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the last third of the first century after *hijrah*

After continued and persistent searching of the statements of the scholars regarding the history of fabrication of the *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet, I have not found anyone who has adopted this opinion except °Umar Ibn Ḥasan Fallātah, who (1981: vol. 1:202) argued,

It seems to me - and Allāh knows best - that fabrication of *Ḥadīth*, lying against the Prophet, began much later after this period², and it is possible to specify it as the last third of the first century after *hijrah* (the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Makkah to Madinah). This is so because there is evidence that attempts were made to lie against the Prophet during this time. Also, at this time, issues arose within the Muslim community, after the appearance of differences and sects, which can be considered preambles to this loathsome crime, namely the desecration of the sanctity of the Prophet by ascribing lies to him, and by relating from him that which he did not say or do.

Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:202) then proceeded to explain his opinion by presenting a number of issues. The first issue he presents is ‘the desecration of the sanctity of the rightly guided Caliphs, and other than them from amongst the Companions.’ Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:203) substantiated this with some examples. The disparagement against the rightly guided Caliphs and the Companions began with that of the third Caliph °Uthmān Ibn °Affān, by claiming that he contradicted those who preceded him, such as by completing four units of prayer whilst travelling, and by gathering the people upon a single reading of the *Qur’ān*. Similarly, the fourth Caliph, °Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was disparaged over the issue of arbitration.

The second example of disparagement of the rightly guided Caliphs is the plotting of the common people against them. Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:203-205) mentioned some incidents to establish this. However, these cannot be shown to be authentic. The first incident that Fallātah claims is the incident of Ibn °Udays. He says, “From this is the disparagement of °Uthmān Ibn °Affān by Ibn °Udays, upon the pulpit of the

² - Fallātah is referring to the period up to 40 or 41 *hijrī*, which is the second opinion that is mentioned previously.

Prophet.” This is in reference to the incident narrated by Abū Thawr al-Fahmī where he said,

I approached ʿUthmān, when Ibn ʿUdays ascended upon the pulpit and said, ‘Verily, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Masʿūd told me, that he heard the Prophet say, ‘Verily ʿUthmān is more astray than a slave-girl upon her husband’. So I entered upon ʿUthmān who then said, ‘He has lied; I swear by Allāh, Ibn ʿUdays did not hear this from Ibn Masʿūd, nor did Ibn Masʿūd hear this from the Prophet’.

It seems that this narration is not authentic for a number of reasons. Firstly, this incident has been mentioned in the collections of fabrications compiled by Ibn al-Jawzī (1995: vol. 2:250), al-Suyūṭī (1996: vol. 1:291-292), Ibn ʿArrāq (1981: vol. 1:349-350) and others. Ibn al-Jawzī (1995: vol. 2:250) narrated it from the chain of Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, who heard it from Kāmil Ibn Ṭalḥah, who heard it from Ibn Lahīʿah, who heard it from Yazīd Ibn ʿAmr al-Muʿāfarī, who heard it from Abū Thawr. It is peculiar that Fallātah has used this fabricated narration as a proof, given that he himself has warned against using fabrications, and has written a book on the subject, condemning doing so in the strongest terms.

Secondly, Ibn ʿUdays, to whom Fallātah ascribes this incident, is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿUdays Ibn ʿAmr Ibn Kilāb, whose nickname is Abū Muḥammad al-Balwī. A number of scholars who have written on the Companions and their history have mentioned that this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is from amongst the Companions of the Prophet. Some of the scholars who have said so are, Ibn Saʿd (1968: vol. 7:199), Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (Ibn Abū Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 5:248), ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ibn Saʿīd, Ibn al-Barqī, Ibn Yūnus, Abū ʿAlī Ibn al-Sakan (Ibn Ḥajar, n.d: vol. 2:403), Ibn Ḥibbān (1973: vol. 3:255-256), Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (n.d: vol. 2:303), al-Dhahabī (1987:531-532), Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 2:403), Ibn al-Athīr (1989: vol. 3:370), and others. Further, some of these scholars, such as Ibn Yūnus and Ibn al-Barqī, have mentioned that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was from amongst the Companions who took the pledge of

allegiance under the tree (Ibn Ḥajar, n.d: vol. 2:403). So it is inconceivable that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿUdays would lie against the Prophet while being one of the Companions who learnt from the Prophet and knew that whoever lied against him intentionally would take his abode in hellfire? Rather, that which he learnt from the Prophet was truthfulness and the forbiddance of lying against him in any affair. All this further illustrates that this incident has been fabricated against him.

Thirdly, the chain of this narration is not authentic. In its chain is ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿah (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 15:487-503), about whom al-Dhahabī said (Ibn ʿArrāq, vol. 1:350), “Not only is he *Ḍaʿīf*, but is also known for his *Shiʿism*.” This narration involves a slander against the third Caliph ʿUthmān Ibn ʿAffān, and thus contains that which agrees with his ideology, and hence cannot be accepted from him (al-ʿUmārī, 1984:23). In short, I would argue that the evidence quoted so far proves that the use of this incident by Fallātah is unacceptable.

The second incident that Fallātah mentions for the plotting of the common people against the rightly guided Caliphs is the incident of Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:203) claims, “The rising of Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq in the army during the expedition of *al-Ṣawārī* (battle between Muslims and Byzantine Empire), conspiring against ʿUthmān, thinking that Allāh had made his killing lawful and that rebelling against him was ordained.” Fallātah cites as his reference for this the incident mentioned in the book *al-Iṣābah* of Ibn Ḥajar; however, after searching for it both here and under the biography of Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (Ibn Ḥajar, 1939: vol. 6:11), I have not been able to find it.

The third incident Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:203-204) mentions is the forgery of books in the name of some of the senior Companions and some of the wives of the Prophet, and he provides about seven instances of this. Firstly, he (1981: vol. 1:204) argued that,

Ibn Ḥajar states that al-Kindī narrates from the chain of Layth, from °Abd al-Karīm Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ḥaḍramī, that Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah used to forge books in the name of the wives of the Prophet in disparagement of °Uthmān. He would fasten together a group of riding camels, and then summon the men he wished to accompany them. He would then place them in the sun so that they would get tanned like travellers. Once they were ready, he would send them upon the road to Madinah, and also send a messenger to the city to inform the people of their imminent arrival, instructing them to come out to receive them. When the riders would reach the city, they would say that they carried news in the books that they had. Then, Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah would arrive on the scene, whereupon the messenger would announce, ‘Let us go to the Mosque so that he may read to you the book from the mothers of the believers. Verily we complain to you, O people of Islam, about such and such’ and they would then mention disparaging remarks against °Uthmān, until the people of the mosque began to clamour and shout with wailing and prayer.

Secondly, he (1981: vol. 1:204) argued that, “from this is what Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam falsely attributed to °Uthmān and sent to °Abd Allāh Ibn Abī al-Sarḥ, regarding the aid of some of the rebels against °Uthmān from Egypt”. Thirdly, he (1981: vol. 1:204) argued that, “from this also is the book which was falsely attributed to the first migrants and others from the *shūrā* (council of ministers) that they wrote to the people of Egypt inciting them against °Uthmān, and inviting them to Madinah to join the rebellion against him, and demanding his life”.

Fourthly, he (1981: vol. 1:204) argued that,

similarly, that which was falsely attributed to °Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib that he wrote to the people of Egypt (regarding the *fitnah* ‘tribulation’). So when some of the Egyptians came to °Alī they said, ‘Do you not see what the enemy of Allāh has said about us? Join us against him, for verily Allāh has made shedding his blood permissible.’ So °Alī said, ‘No by Allāh, I will not join you.’ So they said, ‘Then why did you write to us?’ To which °Alī replied, ‘No, by Allāh, I never wrote anything to you.’ So they began looking at one another in astonishment.

Fifthly, he (1981: vol. 1:204-205) argued that, “From this is what al-Mukhtār Ibn Abī °Ubayd al-Thaqafī falsely attributed to Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah. Also that which he wrote to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar, in the name of Muḥammad Ibn al-

Ḥanafīyyah”. Sixthly, he (1981: vol. 1:205) argued that, “Similarly, the rebellion of Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾishah against ʿAlī was demanding that the blood of ʿUthmān be avenged. From the consequences of this rebellion was the battle of *al-Jaml*, which ended in ʿĀʾishah being confined to Madinah, and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr being killed”. Seventhly, he (1981: vol. 1:205) argued that,

Just as Muʿāwīyah and those with him took advantage of the killing of ʿUthmān to incite the rebellion of the people of *al-Shām* (Historical Syria) against ʿAlī, and in demanding vengeance for the blood of ʿUthmān after having charged ʿAlī with responsibility for it. Thus they were partly responsible for ʿAlī’s murder. Also, their rebellion led to the battle of *Ṣiffīn*, which in turn resulted in the emergence of the sects of the *Khawārij*, the *Shīʿah* and the *Nawāṣib* (a name for the *Khawārij*).

I will now critically discuss these incidents given by Fallātah. Firstly, the evidence cited by Fallātah for these incidents of forged sayings in the name of the elder Companions and some of the wives of the Prophet is the book, ‘*al-Imāmah wa al-Sīyasah*’, which has been used by some of the later scholars. However, this book in reality is a forgery against Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynūrī, and it cannot be authentically ascribed to him. This fact has already been established by many authenticating researchers, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī, Muḥib al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Tharwat ʿUkkāshah, Fārūq Ḥammādah, al-Jundī, Shākir Muṣṭafā, and al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr (Mash-hūr Ḥasan Salmān; 1995: vol. 2:298-301). The proofs showing that the ascription of this book to Ibn Qutaybah is false are many, and can be obtained from any of the references mentioned above. Secondly, many of these incidents require further investigation and authentication of their chains of narration before they can be used as evidence. Thirdly, Fallātah has mentioned some of these incidents of differences which occurred between the Companions under the heading, ‘conspiracy of some of the sectarian common people against the scholars and the Caliphs’, and he then presented examples of Ṭalḥah Ibn ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾishah who clearly are not from amongst the ‘sectarian common people’. This is very surprising

for Fallātah. However, I am in agreement with the evidence of Fallātah when he states that the trials and tribulations which occurred between the Companions were from amongst the reasons for the emergence of fabrication of *Aḥādīth* against the Prophet. Finally, the third example of desecration of the sanctity of the rightly guided Caliphs is their murder. Fallātah presented as examples of this the murders of °Uthmān Ibn °Affān and °Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

The second issue presented by Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:206-207) in order to explain his opinion regarding the beginning of fabrication of *Aḥādīth* in the last third of the first century *hijrī* (the Islamic lunar calendar) is the splitting of the Muslim community into sects. °Abd al-Ṣamad (1990:53) has summarised Fallātah's discussion on this topic by saying, "the splitting of the Muslim community into sects was one of the outcomes of the *fitnah* that erupted due to the martyrdom of °Uthmān, and the killing of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr."

Fallātah is of the opinion that the *fitnah* which occurred up to that time was political, and hence it did not establish itself amongst the majority of the people. However, after the battle of *Ṣiffīn*, and the martyrdom of °Alī, and what arose from the splitting of the Muslims into sects, these sects began to conflict with one another on religious matters. They then began to develop partisanship towards their own *madhhab* (school of jurisprudence) and sought to use whatever they could from the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah* to substantiate their own ideologies and desires. Fallātah has also referred to the role played by °Abd Allāh Ibn Sabā° in spreading corrupt and fantastic ideologies amongst the Muslim community, such as: claiming that the Prophet would return to life; claiming that °Alī was the *Waṣiyy* (successor) of the Prophet, and that he was

granted knowledge equivalent to nine *Qurʾān*; and that ʿAlī harboured ill feeling towards Abū Bakr and ʿUmar; and that ʿAlī was in fact god (Fallātah, 1981: vol. 1:205-211)

The third issue raised by Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:211) is that of lying against the Companions, whereby he argued that, “The Companion who faced the greatest trials with respect to this was ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.” He then used as evidence that which Muslim (1987: vol. 1:83) has narrated from Ṭāwūs, that he said, “Ibn ʿAbbās came bearing a book containing the judgements of ʿAlī, and then he erased most of them except a few.” This incident is evidence that there were many rulings and statements falsely attributed to ʿAlī, and that Ibn ʿAbbās was aware of these, and what was correctly narrated from the Companions.

After this, Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:203-204) mentioned a summary of what I have mentioned previously, that all these *fitan* (tribulations) which transpired in the Muslim world during that period were just preparatory for the appearance of a far more abominable and repugnant crime, that of the fabrication of *Aḥādīth* from the Prophet. He then mentioned his proofs for this, which I present in the following points. The authors of the books of Muslim history, who were concerned primarily with the recording of events, have not mentioned any incident involving fabrication of *Aḥādīth* against the Prophet until the last third of the first century *hijrī*. The first incident of this nature which they have recorded is that which is narrated by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1983: vol. 1:131), with a chain from him, up to Abū Anas al-Harrānī, who said:

Al-Mukhtār said to a man from amongst the narrators of *Ḥadīth*: Fabricate for me a *Ḥadīth* from the Prophet that I shall be a Caliph after him, desiring the severance of his son. Here are 10,000 dirham, a robe, a horse and a servant. So the man said: I refuse to

do so from the Prophet. However, choose whoever you wish from amongst the Companions, and reduce your price by whatever you wish. Al-Mukhtār said, From the Prophet is stronger and of greater weight. The man replied: The punishment for it is also greater.

Similarly, Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:213) mentioned what al-Bukhārī (1986c: vol. 1:174) has narrated, with his own chain, from Ibn al-Rabʿah al-Khuzāʿī, who had seen the Prophet during his pre- Muslim days, who said:

Al-Mukhtār used to attain his ends through force. He used to imprison the people until they would narrate *Ḥadīth* he desired. I too was summoned, and so when I reached Kufa, I entered upon him, whereupon he took me into seclusion and said, ‘You are a respected, aged man and have seen the Prophet, and so the people will not reject what you narrate from him. So fabricate for me a *Ḥadīth* from the Prophet, and in payment I shall give you 700 Dinars.’ So I replied, ‘The reward of the one who lies against the Prophet is nothing less than Hellfire. By Allāh, I will not do so’.

Also, he (1981: vol. 1:213) referred to what Ibn Abī Ḥātim (1952: vol. 8:43) has mentioned in his biography of Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, “He was killed by al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār asked him to narrate a false *Ḥadīth* through his father, and he refused, so he killed him.” ʿUmar Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:214) argued that,

It is well known that al-Mukhtār Ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Thaqafī did not resort to these methods except after he established himself in Kufa, and began to call for taking the oath of allegiance from Muhammad bin al-Hanafīyyah, avenging the blood of Ḥusayn, and rebellion against Ibn al-Zubayr and ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. This continued until he was killed in the year 67 AH / 686 CE.

In short, I argue that the most correct opinion regarding the beginning of fabrication is the third opinion: that fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began in the last third of the first century *hijrī*, despite the fact that ʿUmar Fallātah has presented certain introductory evidence which are not authentic. By then most of the prominent Companions had died, leaving a group of younger Companions who disassociated themselves from public in general, and thus did not play any apparent role in society. Rather, the most which could be hoped from them was merely to meet them, and to try to seek their pleasure. It was enough for those who lived in their times to be given the opportunity to meet just one of them. This was in addition to what has already been stated from

the reasons for the emergence of fabrications of *Ḥadīth*. However, I say this based upon the authenticity of the proofs mentioned previously, and the lack of evidence which support the first two opinions.

Conclusion

The *Ḥadīth* “Whosoever lies against me intentionally then let him take his abode in Hellfire” (al-Bukhārī; 1980. vol. 1:55) has had an enormous effect upon the differences between the scholars of *Ḥadīth* regarding establishing the beginning of fabrication. In this chapter I have explained the weakness of those narrations which contain additions to the main text of the *Ḥadīth*. It is these additions that have been used by scholars such as Amīn in claiming that fabrication occurred during the lifetime of the Prophet. I then explained that the most common opinion of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* is that fabrication began after the year 40 AH, which is when many of the tribulations began. This opinion is based on the fact that the major Companions were alive until the year 40 AH, and that fabrication could not have started while they were still alive. Abū Nuʿaym al-Aṣbahānī (1986: vol. 2:537-552) has mentioned the *Ḥadīth* “Whosoever lies against me intentionally then let him take his abode in Hellfire” in his book; *dalāʾil al-nobūwah* (signs of the Messengership), under the chapter “That which the Prophet informed us of from the matters of the unseen, which did not occur during his lifetime but occurred after his death.” This shows that he understood this *Ḥadīth* in a broader sense, to mean that fabrication did not begin during the lifetime of the Prophet or of the senior Companions. As for the tribulations which occurred from the year 40 AH onwards, these were causes for the beginning of fabrication, which can therefore be shown to have started in the last

third of the first century *hijrī*. The causes for fabrication of *Ḥadīth* will be studied in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Causes for the appearance of fabrications in *Ḥadīth*

Introduction

Having examined the different opinions of the researchers as to when fabrication began to appear in the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, and having clarified which of them is most plausible, it is appropriate to discuss the different causes that led the fabricators to lie on the Prophet. Reviewing the books of Muslim history in general and specifically the books dealing with the history of the *Sunnah*, it is clear that there is a frighteningly large quantity of narrations, stories and biographies of fabricators.

When the fabrication of Prophetic *Ḥadīth* surfaced, due to the various reasons that I have outlined above, the Companions and the scholars of *Ḥadīth* opposed it using different methods, each appropriate to the particular fabricator and the period in which he lived. These varied methods of combating fabrication initiated many new developments in the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*. These developments have led to benefits throughout Muslim history, up to the present day.

In this chapter I shall focus upon three issues connected to the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*. The first is a study of the causes for the beginning of fabrication. Secondly, I shall discuss the efforts made by the scholars in combating fabrication. Thirdly, I shall examine the results achieved from these efforts of the scholars to combat fabrication.

Causes for fabrication of *Ḥadīth*

The major causes for the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* can be divided into four main categories. Namely; *al-Zanādiqah* (the heretics), *al-Qaṣāṣūn* (the storytellers), *al-ʿAṣabiyyah* (partisanship) and the unintentional mistakes of some pious individuals. In this section I will examine the categories and provide examples of how they all resulted in the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*.

Al-Zanādiqah (the Heretics)

Before I begin explaining how the fabrication of *al-Zanādiqah* manifested itself in the discipline of *Ḥadīth*, I will explain the etymology of the term *al-Zandaqah* or *al-Zindīq* in the Arabic language. Ibn Manẓūr (1882: vol. 10:147) said, “*al-Zindīq* is the one who professes that time is endless. It was originally a Persian word and was Arabicised; one would say in Persian, ‘*zindī kiray*’ which means the one who professes that time will never end. There was no such word as *al-Zindīq* in the Arabic language; if the Arabs wanted to express its meaning they would say, ‘*al-Mulḥid*’ or ‘*al-Dahrī*’. The plural of *al-Zindīq* is *al-Zanādiqah*.”

There are differences of opinion amongst the *Ḥadīth* scholars as to the actual definition of the term *al-Zindīq* or *al-Zandaqah*. I will quote some of their opinions here. Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:62) argued that, “Those that used to believe in *al-Zandaqah* and disbelief; they did not believe in Allāh nor the Last Day.” Al-Sakhāwī (1992: vol. 1:300) argued that, “They are those that hide their disbelief and showed faith in Islam or those that do not have a religion at all.” Al-Sibāʿī (1985:83) argued that, it is: “The hatred of Islam as a religion and a state.” Al-ʿUmarī (1984:34)

argued that, “They hide behind Islam and conceal a hatred for it and the Muslims.” Fallātah (1981: vol. 1:220) argued that, “They are the ones who interpret the *Qurʾān* and the *Sunnah* with false interpretations, repugnant to principles of Muslim belief.”

The above can be summarised by saying that the term *al-Zanādiqah* is utilised with regard to two groups. The first group are those that give the appearance of being Muslims, while in reality, they hate Islam as a religion and as a state. They hide their hatred for Islam and its people, and they interpret the *Qurʾān* and the *Sunnah* in an incorrect and false way. The second group are those that do not attribute themselves to any religion, but attempt to disprove religion to the people. In reality they share the characteristics of the first group already discussed.

As for their methods and mannerisms in fabricating Prophetic Ḥadīth and spreading them, Ibn Taymiyyah (1986: vol. 7:9) argued that,

Their goal was to tarnish the *Qurʾān*, the *Sunnah*, the Prophet and the religion of Islam. So they fabricated Prophetic *Aḥādīth*, were you to believe those, they would tarnish the religion of Islam; then they spread them amongst the people. From amongst them were those that followed their desires and were ignorant. So they accepted the fabrication because of their desires and did not research into them. Also, from amongst them were those who had intelligence and found that these fabrications misrepresent the truth of Islam. Despite this, they affirmed these fabrications as being from Islam, either due to their incorrect creed or because they thought they were authentic.

Al-Zanādiqah developed many ways of spreading their deviations and propagating their fabrication. There were two main methods that they used to propagate their fabrication. Firstly, they used to fabricate Prophetic Ḥadīth by ascribing them to genuine scholars, relating from them in order to cause the people to fall into doubt and to tarnish Islam. By this means they fabricated *Aḥādīth* in many aspects of Islam, such as traditions pertaining to Allāh, His angels, His messengers and the Last Day.

Also in worship, foods, drinks, clothing, animals and much more (°Ābid, 1990:70; al-°Umarī, 1984:35).

An example of this type of fabrication is that which Abū Ya°lā (1988: vol. 6:165-166) related, with his chain, on the authority of Fāṭimah the daughter of the Prophet that he said, “Whoever finds a morsel or a chunk of food in the posterior opening of his alimentary canal or urethra, cleans it of all filth, washes it immaculately then eats it, it does not settle in his belly except that he is forgiven.” This *Ḥadīth* has Wahb Ibn Wahb al-Qāḍī Abū al-Bukhtarī in its chain (al-Khaṭīb, 1997: vol. 13:456-461; Ibn °Adī, 1997: vol. 8:333-338; al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 4:353-354; Ibn Ḥajar, 1910: vol. 6:231-234). Ibn Ma°īn said of him, “He used to lie, the enemy of Allāh” (Ibn Ḥibbān, n.d: vol. 3:74). Ibn al-Jārūd said of him, “A filthy habitual liar. He used to spend most of his nights fabricating *Aḥādīth*” (Ibn Ḥajar, 1910: vol. 6:232). Among the *Ḥadīth* scholars who called him a falsifier were Aḥmad, Ishāq Ibn Rāhawayh, and Wakī° (Ibn Ḥajar, 1910: vol. 6:232-233; al-Jawzajānī, 1985:134). Ibn °Adī said of him (1997: vol. 8:338), “He is of those who fabricate traditions.” Ibn Ḥibbān said of him (n.d: vol. 3:74), “He was of those who would fabricate traditions, write them down and then relate them. It is not permissible to relate from him nor take his written traditions.” Al-Shawkānī said of him (1972:158), “An astounding fabricator and habitual liar.” Also, I found the following *Ḥadīth* scholars mentioned this *Ḥadīth* in their compositions of fabricated *Aḥādīth*: al-Suyūṭī (1996: vol. 2:217), Ibn °Arrāq (1981: vol. 2:241), al-Shawkānī (1972:158).

There are many other examples of fabricated *Aḥādīth* such as those that fill the books of fabricated *Aḥādīth* like *al-Mawḍū°āt* of Ibn al-Jawzī. Al-°Umarī said (1984:35),

“This is how *al-Zanādiqah* fabricated *Aḥādīth*; they wanted to arouse the condemnation of the intelligent ones, the ridicule of the apostates and to impair the Muslim creed which is clear of any anthropomorphism.” For this reason, Ibn al-Qayyim (1995:80) argued that, “These traditions and their like are what encouraged *al-Zanādiqah* and the apostates to dare to tarnish and slander the religion.” Ibn Qutaybah (1988:176) argued that, “After *al-Zanādiqah* made apparent their Islam they tried to tarnish Islam by fabricating despicable *Aḥādīth* describing impossibilities.”

The second method that *al-Zanādiqah* utilised in fabricating Prophetic *Aḥādīth* was to bring suspicion and spread doubt about the Prophetic traditions already in the hands of the Muslims. Fallātah (1981:221) argued that, “A point that needs to be mentioned is that it is established from these that *al-Zanādiqah* used to admit to fabricating Prophetic traditions. In fact some of them used to admit to fabricating many Prophetic traditions and left them to spread amongst the general masses.” From amongst those who admitted this was: ‘**Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ al-Zindīq** (al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 2:644; Ibn Ḥajar, 1910: vol. 4:51-52). Abū Aḥmad Ibn ʿAdī said, “When he was apprehended and his neck was about to be struck, he said, ‘I have fabricated four thousand traditions in which I have proscribed the lawful and proscribed the prohibited’” (al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 2:644). Al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 2:644) said of him, “a deceiving *zindīq*.” Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān al-ʿAbbāsī the head of state killed him in Baṣra.

Some of *al-Zanādiqah* admitted fabricating traditions in a persistent and defying manner. Some of them admitted to this after repenting from it and showing regret for

what they had done. Some examples of this are what Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:63) narrated with his chain of narrators leading to Ibn Lahī^ʿah who said, “I entered upon an old man while he was crying so I asked him what caused him to cry. He replied I have fabricated 400 Ḥadīth and spread them amongst the people and now I do not know what to do.” Al-^ʿUqaylī (1984: vol. 1:14) narrated with his chain of narration leading to Ḥammād Ibn Zayd who said, “They (*al-Zanādiqah*) fabricated 12000 Ḥadīth.” Ibn ^ʿAdī (1997: vol. 1:258) narrated with his chain of narrations that al-Mahdī said, “A man from among *al-Zanādiqah* admitted to me that he had fabricated 400 Ḥadīth that he left to spread amongst the people.”

In short, the fact that *al-Zanādiqah* admitted to fabricating traditions and their persistence in doing this is only due to their defiance of the Muslims and their *Zandaqah* (al-Sibā^ʿī, 1985:100). Some of the Abbasid Caliphs searched for the reasons and dangers behind the movement of *al-Zanādiqah* so they followed their movements closely and inflicted upon them grave punishments; killing them and disrupting their movements. The most famous of those that beheaded them was the Caliph al-Mahdī who composed a piece of poetry regarding *al-Zanādiqah*, scrutinising their abodes, leaders, poets, authors and scholars. The most famous of those he killed was ^ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Abī al-^ʿAwjā^ʿ, mentioned previously (al-Sibā^ʿī, 1985:85; Fallātah, 1981: vol.1:233; ^ʿĀbid, 1990:72).

***Al-Qaṣāṣūn* (the Storytellers)**

Historically in Islam, stories giving glad-tidings and warnings of what is to come would be told by the Caliph or the governor or by someone appointed by the Caliph. However, when the tribulations began after the killing of the third Caliph, ^ʿUthmān

Ibn ʿAffān and the fighting that erupted between ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muʿāwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, the golden years of storytelling came to an end. So then, the Storytellers, who were not scholars, began to spread their stories without the consent of the Caliph. Here I will mention the opinions of the *Ḥadīth* scholars with regard to these storytellers.

Ibn al-Mulaqqin (1992: vol. 1:238) argued that, “The most harmful of them (the fabricators) are a people who ascribe themselves to abstinence desiring thereby reward from Allāh; so their fabrication were accepted from them because of their reliability.” Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:85) argued that, “Among them (the fabricators) are the storytellers and the persistent questioners who used to fabricate traditions in their stories and narrate them from trustworthy narrators. So the listener would take something from them, in accordance to his bewilderment at the tales, then that would fall into the domain of the people and be circulated amongst them.” Ibn Qutaybah (1988:176-177) argued that,

Aḥādīth are mixed with and corrupted in three ways ... the second way is storytellers, who in the olden days used to attract the attention of the general public and mix what they had with *manākīr*, strange *Ḥadīth* and false *Ḥadīth*. It is the habit of people to listen to a storyteller, especially if he has a strange tale to tell or a tale that moves the heart and wets the eye.

After examining the texts I would argue that storytellers may be divided into two groups. The first group are those who were beggars; they would add to the *Ḥadīth* statements that would incite people to do good to them and give them charity. For example Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:85) narrates with his chain to Jaʿfar Ibn Abī ʿUthmān al-Ṭayālīsī who said:

Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn prayed in *al-Raṣāfa* Mosque when a man stood up in front of them and said, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn narrated to us (saying), ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated to us, that Maʿmar informed us from Qatāda from Anas who said that the Prophet said ‘Whoever says ‘lā-ilāha il-Allāh’ then there will be created from every word of it a bird whose beak is of gold, and its feathers are of

coral...' and he continued in a tale whose length was almost twenty pages long. So Aḥmad and Yaḥyā looked at each other then Aḥmad asked Yaḥyā, 'Did you narrate this?' Yaḥyā replied 'By Allāh I never heard this before until this moment.' The narrator (al-Ṭayālīsī) said, 'they all became silent until the man finished his story and took his wage'.

The second group of storytellers were those whose only concern and desire was to gather people around them, so they would present to the people *Aḥādīth* which were fabricated but sounded pleasing, and would stir their feelings of compassion and sympathy. For example al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (Ibn ʿArrāq, 1981. vol. 2:378) narrates with his chain to Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī who said:

Verily the Prophet said, 'Indeed in Paradise is a tree, from whose uppermost part emerges gold, and from whose lowermost part emerges a horse of gold, with a saddle and bridle of pearls and coral. This horse neither defecates or urinates, and possesses wings; the friends of Allāh sit upon them and fly through paradise wherever they wish. So those people who are below them in rank ask them, 'O people of Paradise! Give us half of what you possess! Our Lord, what have these people done to deserve this favour?' So Allāh will say, 'They used to fast while you did not; they used to stand in prayer at night, while you slept; they used to spend in charity while you used to be miserly; and they used to fight the enemies while you used to be cowards'.

In the chain of this *Ḥadīth* is Abū Ḥanash, about whom al-Dhahabī said, "He narrated fabricated *Ḥadīth*" (Ibn ʿArrāq, 1981: vol. 2:378). Ibn ʿArrāq (1981: vol. 2:378) said, "He (al-Dhahabī) meant this *Ḥadīth* by his statement."

In short, I would argue that if these people could fabricate *Aḥādīth* on the authority of Aḥmad and Yaḥyā and Ishāq, not caring that they were sitting in their presence, then one can only imagine what they would have done in their absence, in the Mosques and in the gatherings of the tribes. Their listeners were people who understood Arabic well, and what they heard would stir their hearts. One of them could hear a *Ḥadīth* which the storyteller fabricated on the authority of trustworthy narrators and pass it on, simply because it affected him, and then it would gain currency amongst the people. As such it becomes necessary to research into the case

of every narrator and what he transmits so that lies are not fabricated against the Prophet.

Al-‘Aṣabiyyah (Partisanship)

Al-‘Aṣabiyyah, or *al-Ta‘ṣṣub*, is that a person calls to the aid of his party, to join with them, against those who would oppose them, be they oppressors or the oppressed (Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 1:606). Abū Dāwūd (1970: vol. 5:342) records, with his chain, on the authority of Jubayr Ibn Muṭ‘im that the Messenger of Allāh said, “The one who calls to *‘Aṣabiyyah* is not of us; the one who fights for *‘Aṣabiyyah* is not of us; and the one who dies upon *‘Aṣabiyyah* is not of us.” It was for this reason that the Prophet greatly desired to leave his nation in a state where they were united and one, that it be directed by agreement and that discord would not find a route in. At every suitable occasion he would encourage unity in word and deed and discourage them from discord and splitting. He closed off every avenue that would lead to his nation disuniting. With *Shī‘aism* and excessiveness with regards to the fourth Caliph, and the family of the Prophet, there appeared fabricated reports concerning the virtues of ‘Alī and the vices of others. This then caused some people to become partisan towards *Ahl al-Sunnah* and to meet fabrication with fabrication! They fabricated reports concerning the virtues of the first three Caliphs. Commenting upon the Ḥadīth, “The one who strikes his cheeks and rips his garments and calls with the call of *Jāhiliyyah* is not of us” (al-Bukhārī; 1980: vol. 1:398). Ibn al-Qayyim argued that, “The call of *Jāhiliyyah* is to call to tribalism and partisanship to an individual, similarly to a school of jurisprudence, certain groups, scholars, or to prefer some over others based on idle desires. It involves a person being attributed to one of the previous matters, calling to it, basing allegiance and enmity upon it, and to judge

people based on it. All of this comes under the statement ‘calling to *Jāhiliyyah*’.” (al-Tamīmī, 1970:515).

This *‘Aṣabiyyah* then became a reason, amongst a number of reasons, for the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*. Moreover, this *‘Aṣabiyyah* concerning the virtues of the leaders lead to fabrication of *Aḥādīth* concerning nationality, city, language, and school of jurisprudence. I will examine each of these types of *‘Aṣabiyyah* and illustrate with examples.

Firstly: *‘Aṣabiyyah* to the Caliphs and leaders

This is the first instance of *‘Aṣabiyyah* that appeared in the early centuries of Islam, and which led to the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*. Ibn al-Jawzī (1995: vol. 1:225) argued, “Some people, possessing little manners and claiming to follow the *Sunnah*, showed *‘Aṣabiyyah* and fabricated *Aḥādīth* concerning the virtues of Abū Bakr. Among them were some who desired to counter the fabrication of *al-Shī‘ah* concerning ‘Alī. Both of these parties erred as both of these leaders - Abū Bakr and ‘Alī - have many virtues mentioned in authentic, explicit *Ḥadīth*. These narrations remove any need for such fabrication.” I will study an example of this below to illustrate how some fabricators invented narrations praising the Caliph Abū Bakr.

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* concerning Abū Bakr: Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:130-131) records, with his chain, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah who said, ‘While Gabriel was sitting with the Prophet, Abū Bakr passed by. Gabriel said, “This is Abū Bakr.” He said, “Gabriel, do you then know him?” He replied, “Yes, he is more famous in the heaven than on earth. The Angels call him ‘The Forbearing of

the *Quraysh* (a name of a tribe in Makkah)'. He is your minister during your lifetime and your Caliph after your death". The scholars of *Ḥadīth* have criticised the chain of this *Ḥadīth*. Al-Dhahabī said (1963: vol. 1:247), "its chain is *muzlim* (very weak)." The chain of this *Ḥadīth* contains the narrator, Ismā'īl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf, Abū Hārūn al-Jibrīnī al-Filasṭīnī about whom Ibn Ḥibbān said (n.d: vol. 1:130), 'He is from those who confuse chains and steal *Ḥadīth*. It is not permissible to depend upon him'. Al-Ḥākim said, "He reports fabricated *Ḥadīth*." Ibn Abī Ḥātim said, "He wrote his *Aḥādīth* and sent them to me and I did not find his *Ḥadīth* to be the *Ḥadīth* of truthful people" (Ibn Abī Ḥātim; 1952: vol. 2:195). Ibn al-Jawzī said, 'Abū Hārūn is a liar'. This *Ḥadīth* was mentioned by Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Suyūṭī (1996: vol. 1:270), al-Shawkānī, (1972:338) and others in their compilations of fabricated *Aḥādīth*. In appendix D (see p 261), I have presented further examples of fabricated narrations praising other Caliphs and leaders.

Secondly: 'Aṣabiyyah toward nationality

This is the second instance of 'Aṣabiyyah that appeared in the early centuries of Islam, and led to fabrication of Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, and was caused by partisanship to the Arabs, Persians and other races. This became prominent after the spread of Islam and when many non-Arabs had accepted the religion. Another cause was being contemptuous of other nationalities such as Africans and Persians. However, true virtue lies in those names and titles that have been praised in the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah*, such as Islam, faith, righteousness, piety, knowledge, righteous deeds, beneficence, and the likes. Virtue does not come about by a man being an Arab, non-Arab, black, white, a city-dweller or a bedouin. This is why the Messenger of Allāh said:

People! Your Lord is one, your father is one, and there is no virtue of an Arab over a non-Arab or a black man over a red man except through piety. Have I not conveyed the

message?’ They replied, ‘Yes.’ He said, ‘Then let those present convey my words to those absent (Aḥmad, n.d: vol. 5:411).

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* on racist grounds: Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 7:83) records, with his chain, on the authority of Anas Ibn Mālīk who said that the Messenger of Allāh said, “The first people of my nation for whom I shall intercede will be the Arabs, those who saw me, had faith in me, and believed me. Then I will intercede for those Arabs who did not see me but loved me and desired to see me.” It seems that this *Ḥadīth* is not authentic. The chain to this *Ḥadīth* contains Zuhayr Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī said (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 2003: vol. 4:33), ‘His *Aḥādīth* are fabricated, one should not concern himself with this narrator.’ This *Ḥadīth* was also judged to be fabricated by al-Albānī (1992: vol. 2:162).

Thirdly: ʿAṣabiyyah for a region

This is the third instance of ʿAṣabiyyah that appeared in the early centuries of Islam, and led to fabrication of Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. After examination, it appears to me that there are two main reasons for these fabrications. Firstly, encouraging people to live in a particular region by explaining its virtues. Secondly, warning people from living in a particular region for a specific benefit. There are many fabricated *Aḥādīth* that fall under this category, and it is almost impossible to find a region in which the Muslims resided that does not have fabricated *Ḥadīth* concerning it. After examining the books of *Ḥadīth* that collated fabricated *Aḥādīth*, I found the following regions and cities mentioned either by way of praise or censure: Makkah, Madinah, Jeddah, Islamicjerusalem, Damascus, Constantinople, Tiberius, Antioch, Sana’a, Mary in *Khurāsān*, Alexandria, Ascalon, *Qazwīn*, *Naṣabīn*, ʿAbdān, Baṣra, and others. The books of Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Suyūfī, Ibn ʿArrāq, and al-Shawkānī discuss this in detail.

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* on this topic: Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 8:350) records, with his chain, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah that the Messenger of Allāh said, “There are four cities of Paradise on this world, Makkah, Madinah, IslamicJerusalem, and Damascus. There are four cities of Hell on this world: Constantinople, Tiberius, Antioch, and Sana’a. Freshwater and pollinating wind comes from beneath the Stone at IslamicJerusalem.” It appears to me that this *Ḥadīth* is not authentic. The chain contains the narrator, al-Walīd Ibn Muḥammad al-Mūwaqqarī. Al-Nasāʾī (1986:244) said, “He is *matrūk* in *Ḥadīth*”. Ibn Maʿīn (al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 4:346) and Ibn ʿAdī said (1997: vol. 8:348-352), “a liar”. The *Ḥadīth* is to be found in the compilations of fabricated *Aḥādīth* by Ibn al-Jawzī (1995: vol. 1:357), al-Shawkānī (1972:428), and others.

Fourthly: ʿ*Aṣabiyyah* for a language

This is the fourth instance of ʿ*Aṣabiyyah* that appeared in the early centuries of Islam, and led to fabrication of Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. As I have mentioned earlier, when Islam spread to the lands of the non-Arabs some of the partisan Arabs began to fabricate *Aḥādīth* in favour of the Arabic language, while some of the non-Arabs began to fabricate *Aḥādīth* in favour of their own tongues.

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* depicting ʿ*Aṣabiyyah* for a language: Ibn Ḥibbān records (n.d: vol. 1:129), with his chain, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah that the Prophet said,

The worst language with Allāh is Persian. The speech of the devils is *al-Khūziyyah* (the language spoken in the area of Khwarezm (Chorasmia), Uzbekistan). The speech of the denizens of the Fire is *al-Bukhāriyyah* (the language spoken in Bukharā, Uzbekistan). The speech of the people of Paradise is Arabic.

Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:129) argued that, after quoting this *Ḥadīth*, ‘it is fabricated, it has no basis as the words of the Messenger of Allāh and nor did Abū Hurayrah narrate it.’ Al-Dhahabī said (1963: vol. 1:230), ‘It is a lie’. The chain contains the narrator, Ismā‘īl Ibn Ziyād. Ibn ‘Adī said (1997: vol. 1:510-511), “*Munkar* in *Ḥadīth*.” Ibn Ḥibbān said (n.d: vol. 1:129), “a *dajjāl* (a liar), it is not permissible to mention his name in a *Ḥadīth* unless it is to censure him.”

Fifthly: ‘*Aṣabiyyah* for a creed or *madhhab* (school of jurisprudence)

This is the fifth instance of ‘*Aṣabiyyah* that appeared in the early centuries of Islam, and led to fabrication of Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. Blind partisanship and blind adherence to a belief or school of jurisprudence means to reject that which is from one who differs with him, even it be the truth. Indeed, even to reject categorical evidence, of the *Qur’ān* and *Sunnah*, or not give them any weight, or to direct ones attention to subsidiary matters and build ones allegiance and hatred upon them. This has led to many harmful manifestations, one of which is the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* to support ones school or belief.

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* depicting ‘*Aṣabiyyah* for a *madhhab*: Ibn al-Jawzī (1995: vol. 1:354) records, with his chain, on the authority of Anas Ibn Mālīk that the Prophet said, “There will be a man in my nation, named Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs, who will be more harmful to them than Satan; and there will be a man in my nation, named Abū Ḥanīfah, who will be the lamp of my nation, he will be the lamp of my nation.” This is a fabricated *Ḥadīth* and has been declared so by Ibn al-Jawzī (1995: vol. 1:354) and Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:143). The reason for this is its chain has

Maʿmūn Aḥmad, who is a known fabricator. It is clear that he was pro-*ḥanafī* and anti-*shāfiʿī* for fabricating this Ḥadīth.

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (1990:79) argued that,

The fabricators did this in one of three ways. Firstly, by fabricating *Aḥādīth* concerning the virtues of their leaders and the vices of their opponents. Secondly, by fabricating *Aḥādīth* that would support their opinions and views. Thirdly, by adding things to the works of their opponents in order to disgrace them.

In short, these five categories of *ʿAṣabiyyah* were prevalent in different decades. Resulting in the spread of this *ʿAṣabiyyah* in various countries and regions. To the extent that different areas became known for these tribulations. Some of these areas were a reasonable distance from the Muslim state and there was no other means of gaining notoriety except by claiming *ʿAṣabiyyah* to the language of that area. Ultimately this meant that these locations were fertile areas for the spread of *ʿAṣabiyyah* in its five categories.

Some of those who fabricated chose to do so through various methods. Amongst the most common were *Aḥādīth* that had no origin in any narration weak or authentic, others did so by placing fabricated additions into authentic Ḥadīth, whilst others annexed specific well known authentic *isnād* to fabricated narrations and even to the extent that some fabricators generated new seemingly authentic *isnād* to fabricated narrations. These practises were not solely limited to those who hated Islam. Ultimately there was an impact even on righteous individuals and those who were well intentioned in their narrations.

Unintentional mistakes of some pious individuals

The occurrence of some major tribulations, some of which have been mentioned previously, and specifically the killing of °Uthmān Ibn °Affān, the third Caliph, was a cause for the occurrence of many afflictions and innovations. Ibn Taymiyyah (1995: vol. 35:74) argued that, “Evil occurred because of the killing of °Uthmān; the oppressors grew in strength and boldness and the scholars and believers were weakened to the point that the splitting and discord occurred,” and this is occurring till this day. The hearts of men changed, falsehood appeared, deviation in belief and adherence to the religion appeared, and political and religious sects were given birth; each sect doing all they could to support their views and promote their sect and exalt their leaders. As a consequence there arose some people who were known as *zuhhād* (ascetics), known to be righteous and devout worshippers. They attempted to rectify affairs but succeeded only in increasing division. They concocted *Aḥādīth* they thought would draw opposing groups together, praising the virtues of all parties. They saw people being diverted, by this world and its delights, from the hereafter and concocted *Aḥādīth* concerning encouragement and discouragement, thinking that by doing so they were guaranteed reward. This intention led to them to concoct whatever they thought suitable to encourage people towards righteous deeds, and then attribute this to the Prophet.

These people were respected by the public since they viewed them to be truthful people, people whose hearts were sound, people whom they could never imagine would lie. This is why Ibn al-Mulaqqin (1992: vol. 1:238) argued that, “Fabricators are of different categories, the most harmful of which are people who are thought to be ascetics, who fabricated *Aḥādīth* thereby hoping for reward – in their view – and

their fabrication were accepted because people trusted them.” I will examine these categories of fabricators and present examples of each.

Upon investigating the texts concerning these people I find that they are of three categories. **The first category** is related to those who fabricated *Aḥādīth* encouraging good deeds, hoping thereby to inculcate a desire in people to do so; and *Aḥādīth* discouraging evil deeds, hoping thereby to prevent people from falling into evil. Examples of such people are: Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib al-Bāhilī, famously known as Ghulām al-Khalīl (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 2:73; Ibn ʿAdī, 1997: vol. 1:322; al-Ḥākim, 1984:90; al-Khaṭīb, 1997: vol. 5:283-285; al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 1:141-142; Ibn Ḥajar, 1910: vol. 1:272-274).

Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 1:322) records that, at *Ḥarrān*, in the gathering of Abū ʿArūbah, he heard Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nahāwandī saying, ‘I asked Ghulām al-Khalīl, “What are these *Aḥādīth* concerning heart-melting affairs that you narrate to us?” He replied, “We have fabricated them so that we may soften the hearts of the people”.’ An example of what he fabricated is what is recorded by Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 1:322) with his chain of narration to Abū Saʿīd who said that the Messenger of Allāh said, “May Allāh curse the one who passionately kisses a child, if he shakes his hand with passion, his prayer will not be accepted of him, if he hugs him passionately he will be flogged with a whip of Fire of the Day of Judgment, and if he has intercourse with him Allāh will cause him to enter the Fire.” Ibn ʿAdī said, ‘This *Ḥadīth* is *bāṭil* (unauthentic) with this or any other chain. Ghulām al-Khalīl’s *Aḥādīth* are *munkar* and their number cannot be counted’. This *Ḥadīth* was mentioned in the compendiums of fabricated *Aḥādīth* by Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Suyūṭī (1996: vol. 2:168),

and Ibn ʿArrāq (1981: vol. 2:108). Although this *Ḥadīth* is discouraging something evil, it is not the words of the prophet.

The second category is related to those who unintentionally fabricated *Aḥādīth* against the Messenger of Allāh out of ignorance, and people conveyed this from them. Examples of such people are: Thābit Ibn Mūsā Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḍabbī, Abū Yazīd al-ʿĀbid (al-ʿUqīlī, 1984: vol. 1:176; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 2:458; Ibn Ḥibbān, n.d: vol. 1:207; Ibn ʿAdī, 1997: vol. 2:304-306; al-Ḥākim, 1984:90; al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 1:367-368; al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 4:377-379).

Ibn Maʿīn said (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 2:458), ‘Thābit Abū Yazīd is a liar.’ Ibn Ḥibbān said (n.d: vol. 1:207), ‘It is not permissible to depend on what he narrates.’ An example of what he narrates is the *Ḥadīth* recorded by Ibn Mājah (1954: vol. 1:422) on the authority of Jābir that the Messenger of Allāh said, “Whoever prays frequently by night, his face will be handsome by day.” Lies would pass by the tongues of such people but they would not be aware because they would believe everything that they heard and pass it on. People would then accept what they heard from them based upon what they saw of their righteousness. It was for this reason that Yahyā Ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān said, “I have not seen lying as much as I have seen it in those who are thought to be righteous and ascetic!” (Muslim; 1987: vol. 1:94-95). A similar statement was made by Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl, “I have not seen the righteous lie in something as much as they lie in *Ḥadīth*” (Muslim; 1987: vol. 1:94-95).

What they meant can be seen in the words of Muslim, (1987: vol. 1:95) “Lies would pass by their tongues but not deliberately,” and the words of Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥibbān,

(n.d: vol. 1:70) “Amongst them were those who would lie but not know that they were doing so because this knowledge was not his specialty and neither did he take steps towards learning it”. It is for this reason that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1983: vol. 1:139) argued that, “*Ḥadīth* should not be heard from one who does not know the rules of narration, even if he is famous as a righteous worshipper”. Then under this heading he quoted five statements one of which was the aforementioned statement of Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān. Al-°Irāqī (n.d: vol. 1:267) said, explaining the previous statements,

They meant – and Allāh knows best – those who are righteous but have no knowledge such that they could distinguish between what is permissible for them and what is not, or they had good opinion of people such that they automatically regarded what they heard to be the truth and would pass it on being unable to differentiate error from correctness.

The third category is *al-Karrāmiyyah* (followers of Muḥammad Ibn Karrām). They were of the opinion that it was permissible to fabricate *Aḥādīth* and attribute them to the Messenger of Allāh in matters of *al-ttrghīb wa al-ttrhīb* (encouragement and discouragement). An example of such is Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Karrām al-Sjīstānī al-°Ābid al-Zāhid (al-Shahrastānī, 1994: vol. 1:78; al-Ash°arī, 1995: vol. 1:223; al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 11:523; Ibn Ḥajar, 1910: vol. 5:353-356). He was the person to whom the sect *al-Karrāmiyyah* are attributed to. This opinion of theirs was mentioned by a group of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* and history and likewise the scholars who wrote about Muslim sects. Amongst them was Abū Zakariyyah al-Nawawī (1987: vol. 1:70) who said, “The innovated sect of *al-Karrāmiyyah* held the false opinion that it was permissible to fabricate *Aḥādīth* in the field of encouragement and discouragement. They were followed in this by many ignoramuses who thought themselves ascetics.” Abū al-Fidā° Ibn Kathīr (1997: vol. 11:18) said, after mentioning Muḥammad Ibn Karrām, “... to whom *al-Karrāmiyyah* sect attributes

itself. It is said that he was of the opinion that it was permissible to fabricate *Aḥādīth* on the authority of the Messenger, the Companions, and others.”

An example of what he fabricated was what is recorded by Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 1:292) with his *isnād* to Ibn Karrām:

Aḥmad narrated to us from Abū Yahyā al-Muʿallim narrated to us, on the authority of Ḥumayd, on the authority of Anas that the Prophet said, There will be a man amongst my nation called Abū Hanīfah. Allāh will revive my *Sunnah* at his hands.

This *Ḥadīth* was mentioned in the compendiums of fabricated *Aḥādīth* by: Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 3:46), Ibn ʿArrāq (1981: vol. 2:30) and al-Albānī (1992: vol. 2:42).

Al-Karrāmiyyah, and those who followed them in this opinion, mentioned a number of evidences to justify their stance. These were quoted by Ibn Ḥajar and his student al-Sakhāwī. Here I will mention all of them along with a rebuttal of each. *Al-Karrāmiyyah* claimed that *Ḥadīth* concerning the threat against one who lies against the Prophet was only with regards to a specific individual who went to some people and claimed that he was the envoy of the Messenger of Allāh sent to judge between them in civil matters. This news reached the Prophet and he ordered that the man be killed. This interpretation of the above *Ḥadīth* may be rebutted from two angles. First, this *Ḥadīth* has previously been mentioned and shown to be unauthentic in this form. Second, even if it was authentic, it is still not suitable for proof because consideration is given to the generality of the wording and not to the specific occurrence that led to that statement being made (Ibn Ḥajar, 1984: vol. 2:853).

Also, *al-Karrāmiyyah* used a version of the Ḥadīth of Abū Umāmah in which the Messenger of Allāh said,

Whoever lies against me deliberately, let him take his place between the eyes of Hell” to justify their position. This version contains the additional text, “This bore down heavily on the Companions and they said, ‘We narrate Ḥadīth from you in which we add some things and miss others.’ The Prophet said, “This is not what I mean; I mean one who lies against me desiring thereby to disgrace Islam.” They said, ‘Messenger of Allāh, you said: between the eyes of Hell. Does Hell have eyes?’ He replied, “Yes, have you not heard His saying, ‘*When it sees them from a distant place*’ so does it see them with anything else other than eyes?”

The Ḥadīth is recorded by al-Ṭabarānī (1984: vol. 8:131), Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Ḥākim. Al-Ḥākim said, ‘This Ḥadīth is *bāṭil*, its *isnād* contains Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn °Aṭīyyah, about whom they agreed that he was a liar.’ Al-Haythamī, (1986: vol. 1:153) after quoting this Ḥadīth, said, “it contains al-Aḥwaṣ Ibn Ḥakīm.” This Ḥadīth is not authentic and it has three defects. First, it contains the narrator al-Aḥwaṣ Ibn Ḥakīm about whom al-Nasā’ī (1986:156) said, “*ḍa‘īf*”. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī said, “He is not strong, *munkar* in Ḥadīth” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 2:328). Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 2:175) said, “He reports *munkar* narrations attributing them to well-known narrators. Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān and others abandoned him.” Second, it contains the narrator, Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn °Aṭīyyah about whom al-Fallās said, “*matrūk* in Ḥadīth and a liar” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 8:57). Abū Ḥātim said, “*dhāhib* in Ḥadīth, his *Aḥādīth* were abandoned” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 8:57). Al-Nasā’ī (1986:234) said, “*matrūk* in Ḥadīth.” Third, it contains the narrator, Asīd Ibn Zayd about whom Ibn Ma‘īn said (1979: vol. 2:49), “He is a liar.” Al-Nasā’ī said (1986:155), “*matrūk*.” Ibn Ḥibbān said (n.d: vol. 1:180), “He narrates *munkar* reports from trustworthy narrators. He would steal *Aḥādīth*.”

Al-Karrāmiyyah also claimed that when one lies concerning the field of encouragement and discouragement, one is lying for the Prophet not against him. Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 2:854-855) argued that,

This shows their ignorance of the language, because it amounts to lying against him in placing new laws, for the recommended actions are one category of Muslim law. Such reports also include information about threats or rewards from Allāh if one were to do a particular action.

They also used some narrations of this *Ḥadīth*, “Whoever lies against me deliberately ...”, on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Masʿūd (al-Bazzār, 1993: vol. 5:262-263), al-Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib (al-Jawzī, 1995: vol. 1:57), ʿAmr Ibn Ḥurayth (al-Haythamī, 1986: vol. 1:151) and others, which have the wording, “Whoever lies against me deliberately to misguide people, let him take his place in the Fire.” They said, the versions of this *Ḥadīth* that are general should be understood in this specific light (Ibn Ḥajar, 1984: vol. 2:855-856). The rebuttal to this is as al-Nawawī (1987: vol. 1:71) argued, “The wording ‘**to misguide people**’ is a false addition that all the *Ḥadīth* scholars have agreed to as being false. It is not authentic in any way.” The same was said by Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 1:855), who also said, “Its strongest chain is that which was reported by al-Ḥākim, and who himself said it was *ḍaʿīf*, via the route of Yūnus Ibn Bukayr, from al-Aʿmash, from Ṭalḥah Ibn Muṣṣarif, from ʿAmr Ibn Shurḥabīl, from Ibn Masʿūd.” The same was said by Abū Bakr al-Bazzār (1993: vol. 5:262-263) “We do not know of anyone who reported it on the authority of al-Aʿmash, from Ṭalḥah, except Yūnus Ibn Bukayr. Other scholars have reported it as a *mursal* (hurried) narration’. The same was said by al-Dāraquṭnī (1989: vol. 5:219-220). Then Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 1:855) said, “Yūnus made a mistake in two places. First, he neglected to mention Abū ʿAmmār a narrator between Ṭalḥah and ʿAmr. Second, he linked to the Prophet through Ibn Masʿūd when in reality it is *mursal*.” I have previously mentioned that this was also the view of al-Dāraquṭnī and al-Bazzār.

Even if one were to accept this additional wording, it is still not a proof because it is possible to understand it in two ways: First, the letter *lām* in the sentence does not take the meaning of reason, but rather the end result. As such the meaning would be, ‘The end result of his lying will be misguiding others thereby.’ The usage of *lām* in this sense is well-known as in the Qur’ānic verse, “*The family of Pharaoh picked him up so that he might be an enemy and a source of grief to them*” (Qur’ān, 28:8). Second, the letter *lām* is used to show emphasis and as such there is no specific relevance given to this sentence as in the other Qur’ānic verse, “*Who could do greater wrong than someone who invents lies against Allāh so as to lead people astray without any knowledge?*” (Qur’ān, 6:144). Here lying against Allāh is prohibited no matter what, regardless of whether a person intends to misguide or not.

In short, the scholars of Ḥadīth and in particular the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta’dīl* were of the opinion that the effects of these righteous individuals in particular those from the first and second categories was more severe and of greater harm to the prophetic Ḥadīth. This was due to their clearly apparent righteousness, their level of abstention from the world and their level of worship. The general masses would clearly accept their narrations as being from the Prophet due to the fact that these righteous individuals were not known for lying. Therefore their effect in the spread of fabricated *Aḥādīth* between the masses was great.

The efforts of the Companions and the scholars after them in combating fabrication and lies in Ḥadīth

The Companions would listen to the statements of the Prophet directly from him, and those who could not do so due to some preoccupation, such as business or travel, would hear them from the other Companions. After researching into this method of transmission of *Aḥādīth* by the Companions, I found that they would take great care in reporting honestly and accurately from the Prophet. As time passed after the death of the Prophet, the care they and the scholars after them took increased, particularly when fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began, due to the reasons that I have covered previously. They employed three principal methods in their efforts to combat fabrication. Firstly, through their insistence upon the *isnād*. Secondly, through scholarly siege of those places where fabrication was rife. Thirdly, through prosecution of the fabricators, and exposing their activities. I will examine each of these methods and present examples of each.

1. The importance of the *isnād* (chain of narrators)

Due to the great weight and importance the Muslims have given the *isnād*, I argue that they can be called ‘the nation of *isnād*’. It is this *isnād* that distinguishes Muslim nations from nations that came before them. Ibn Taymiyyah (1995: vol. 1:9) argued that,

From amongst the things that Allāh distinguished this nation with is the knowledge of *isnād* and chains of transmission. He made it a stairway to cognizance. The People of the Book however do not have any such *isnād* with which to relate their narrations.

Allāh distinguished the Muslim nation due to its nobility and the fact that it is the last nation to have received divine revelation from the heavens. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥātim al-Muẓaffar (Luqmān, 1992: vol. 13:231) argued that,

Indeed Allāh has conferred, honoured and bestowed grace upon this nation due to the *isnād*. There is no nation, old or new, whose narrations have a complete connected *isnād*; they are merely scriptures they have in their hands mixed up with their own books and writings.

Among the primary goals of the discipline of Ḥadīth is to find out and distinguish the accepted traditions from the rejected ones. This is not possible except with the *isnād*, so the *isnād* is an essential treasure in the discipline of Ḥadīth. For this reason, after mentioning the books of Ḥadīth, al-Khaṭīb (1983: vol. 2:213) argued that,

All the books we have mentioned previously require the *isnād*; were they to be bereft of their *asānīd* and reduced to just the words of the tradition, the whole matter would be corrupted and their rulings would not be taken. This is due to the fact that a connected *isnād* is a condition for the authenticity of a Ḥadīth and a condition for acting upon that Ḥadīth.

In fact the *isnād* is of utmost importance in all the Muslim disciplines. °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak argued that, “The *isnād* is from the religion in my opinion. Were it not for the *isnād* whoever wished to say something (not from the religion, as though it is from the religion) would have said it” (Muslim, 1987: vol. 1:87). Sufyān al-Thawrī argued that, “The *isnād* is the weapon of the believer. If he has no weapon, with what then will he fight?” (Ibn Ḥibbān, n.d: vol. 1:27). Al-Ḥākim Abū °Abd Allāh (1977:6) argued in explanation of the usage of this weapon,

Were it not for the *isnād*, the insistence of this group for it, and their diligence in its preservation, the lighthouse of Islam would have been extinguished and the apostates and innovators would have been able to fabricate traditions and meddle with *asānīd*. If the reports are absent of their *asānīd*, they are cut off.

Similar to this is the statement of Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:25),

Were it not for the *isnād* and the insistence of this group for it, there would have appeared in this nation of ours distortions like that which occurred to the other nations. That is because there is no nation who was sent a Prophet whose religion was safeguarded against distortions like this nation.

Ibn Sīrīn also argued that,

In the first years they did not use to ask about the *isnād*, then when the tribulations began they began to ask about the *isnād* so that they could take the Ḥadīth of the people of the *Sunnah* and leave the Ḥadīth of the people of innovation (al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 5:695).

It is in this manner that the Companions and then their successors began to combat the fabrication and lies that were spread in Ḥadīth. They considered the *isnād* in accepting reports. So the report whose narrators were upright, trustworthy *athbāt* (strong, authentic), their reports were accepted; and those who were the opposite, were rejected. So with this the scholars were able to combat the deception of the fabricators of *Aḥādīth* on the Prophet. Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:33) said:

This is the importance that this scholars Ḥadīth gave to preserving the *Sunnah* for the Muslims, as well as dispelling lies about the Prophet. Were it not for them, the rulings of the *Sunnah* would have been altered such that it would be impossible to distinguish the authentic narrations from the fabricated.

In short, the *isnād* is an essential part of the religion of Islam and it holds great importance, since the differentiation of the accepted and rejected sayings of the Prophet are dependent upon it. The *isnād* was held to be important and was asked for at a very early period. However, the researchers differed as to the exact time at which the scholars began to question and scrutinise the *isnād* and consider it in accepting reports. There are a number of opinions regarding this, which I have detailed in appendix E (see p 264), however the strongest opinion is that *isnād* has existed from an early stage but came more crucial after tribulations within the Muslim community especially with the thread of fabrication.

2. The scholarly siege on places where fabrication was widespread

This was the second method used by the *Tābiʿīn* (followers) and Ḥadīth scholars after them to combat the fabrication of Ḥadīth. I have explained previously that one of the reasons that contributed to the appearance of fabrication in the Prophetic traditions was the political differences between Muslims. The most important areas in which these political differences occurred were those of *al-Shām* and Iraq. Ibn Saʿd (1968: vol. 4:12-13) mentions that a group of Iraqis came to ʿAbd Allāh Ibn

°Amr Ibn al-°Āṣ in Makkah asking him to narrate *Aḥādīth* to them, so he said to them “amongst the Iraqis are a people who accuse others of falsehood, lie and mock”. Similarly, Ibn °Asākir (1995: vol. 1:327) mentions that °Āṣishah said:

O people of Iraq, the people of *al-Shām* are better than you, for a large group of the Companions of the Prophet went to them and they narrate to us that which we know and recognise. But a small group of the Companions went to you and you narrate to us that which we recognise and that which we do not.

Al-°Umarī (1984:26) argued that,

Many fabrication in *Ḥadīth* found in Kufa led to it having a poor reputation as a school of learning and a centre of *Ḥadīth* in the Muslim world at that time. This led to the degradation of the scholarly reputation of Iraq throughout the Muslim world, from a very early period.

As a result the *Ḥadīth* scholars became cautious of Iraqi narrations. Al-Zuhrī said “When I hear an Iraqi narration, I have it reiterated, and then again reiterated.” Likewise, they were cautious of Iraqi narrators, so, for instance, Ibn °Adī (1997: vol. 1:242) narrates that Mālik Ibn Anas the jurist of Madinah would not narrate from any of the *Kūfī* narrators except °Abd Allāh Ibn Idrīs who was a follower of his school of jurisprudence. He would say in this regard “just as our predecessors did not narrate from their (Iraqi) contemporaries, likewise, those coming later do not relate from their (Iraqi) contemporaries.” The statement from Mālik is clear in demonstrating that the scholars’ lack of narrating from the Iraqis was not something specific to his own generation. In fact, his generation was only following their own predecessors by not accepting (narrations) from Iraqis. Thus, Mālik says “treat the *Ḥadīth* that comes from Iraq as you would treat the *Ḥadīth* of the People of the Book (Jews and Christians): neither affirm nor reject it.”

The position the *Ḥadīth* scholars held with regard to Iraqi narrations and *Ḥadīth*, specifically those which came from Kufa, meant that the Caliphate based in Damascus placed an academic boycott upon them. They were not consulted with

regards to religious rulings, rather the Caliphate depended exclusively upon the scholars of *al-Shām* and Madinah. Al-Awzā'ī argued that, "The Caliphs were from *al-Shām*; so if there was some occurrence, they asked the scholars of *al-Shām* and Madinah regarding it. The narrations of Iraq did not pass beyond the walls of their houses" (Ibn 'Asākir, 1995: vol. 1:70). This is how the *Kūfī Ḥadīth* and narrations were boycotted, unlike the rest of the lands.

However, this boycott established by the Muslim scholars did not lead them to a total rejection of *Ḥadīth* and narrator of Iraqi origin; instead, they set these apart from the rest and compared them with other *Aḥādīth* since complete rejection of everything coming from Iraq would result in a huge loss of information. For example 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī (al-Khaṭīb, 1972:129) argued that, "If the people of Baṣra were rejected due to their belief in *al-Qadr* (decree, pre-destination), and the people of Kufa due to *al-Rāfiḍah* (a sect that rejected the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar) and *al-Shī'ah*, the books would be ruined!" The importance of Kufa and Iraq was generally recognised by Muslim scholars with Ibn Sa'd (1968: vol. 6:1-6) noting that three hundred Companions of the Prophet from those who had made the pledge of allegiance under the tree, and seventy of those who participated in the battle of *Badr*, settled in Kufa. Amongst these was one of the most famous Companion and senior amongst the jurists and narrators of his time, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd, whose students went on to become leading scholars of the second generation. Thus, despite the widespread lying in Kufa, there were in Kufa and other places, many great and trustworthy narrators.

In short, I find that scholars transmitted *Aḥādīth* from trustworthy narrators amongst the *Shīʿīh* who were distinguished with honesty; and the scholars of *Ḥadīth* would discriminate between the truthful and the unfaithful person; they would accept from one known to be truthful even though they might be a *Shīʿī*, a *Khārijī*, a *Qadarī* or *Murjī* as long as the narrator was not someone who strove to spread his deviancy, as this could be a source of fabrication in *Ḥadīth*. Al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:5-6) argued that,

Deviancy is of two types. A minor deviancy, like ... *Shīʿism* without extremism and distortions. This was prevalent amongst the second and third generations, alongside strong practise of the religion, piety and truthfulness. Were all the *Aḥādīth* from these people to be rejected, a large portion of Prophetic narrations would have been lost, and this is a clear evil.

3. Prosecution of the Fabricators and Exposing their Activities

This was the third method used by the followers and *Ḥadīth* scholars after them to combat fabrication of *Ḥadīth*. As I have explained, the *Ḥadīth* scholars had great concern for the *isnād* and adherence to it. Similarly, I have already examined the reasons for the appearance and spread of fabrication. With regards to the prosecution and exposing of the fabricators, the scholars of *Ḥadīth* used a number of methods; among them were admonishing of the fabricators, exposing and dishonouring them in front of the general populace, ordering the censure of the *Ḥadīth* that they narrated, and refusing to narrate anything from them. They would also incite the rulers against them, as the fabricators and liars feared the power of the Sultans due to their ability to punish them, even with death. I will mention examples of famous scholars who used these methods to achieve their goal of preventing *Ḥadīth* fabrication.

From amongst the best known scholars of *Ḥadīth* about whom such incidents are narrated is **Shu‘bah Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū Bustām**. He was known to be one of the severest of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* against the fabricators, and here we mention some incidents concerning this. Al-Shāfi‘ī said, “If it were not for Shu‘bah, *Ḥadīth* would not be known in Iraq” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 1:127). Al-Shāfi‘ī also said, “He (Shu‘bah) used to approach a man (who was a fabricator) and say to him, ‘Do not narrate *Ḥadīth*, or else I shall incite the Ruler against you’” (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 12:491). ‘Alī Ibn al-Madīnī narrated from Ghundar, “I saw Shu‘bah riding upon a donkey, so it was said to him ‘Where are you heading, O Abū Bustām?’ He replied, ‘I am going to incite (the Ruler) against this man (Ja‘far Ibn al-Zubayr) who has fabricated against the Messenger of Allāh four hundred *Ḥadīth*’” (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 5:34). Yazīd Ibn Hārūn said:

Ja‘far Ibn al-Zubayr and ‘Imrān Ibn Ḥudayr used to pray and teach in the same Mosque. The people used to crowd around Ja‘far Ibn al-Zubayr, while no one would sit with ‘Imrān. When Shu‘bah passed by that way he would say, ‘It amazes me how the people gather around the greatest liar amongst them (Ja‘far) while leaving the most truthful amongst them (‘Imrān).’ Yazīd then said, ‘Previously only a few people would come to us, (but after this) the whole crowd moved to the circle of Yazīd, leaving Ja‘far with no one at all’ (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 5:34).

Secondly, **Sufyān al-Thawrī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh**. He was also well known to be very severe against the fabricators. Ibrāhīm Ibn Mūsā said, “Mahrān Ibn Abī ‘Umar al-‘Aṭār narrated to me that he was with Sufyān al-Thawrī in the Sacred Mosque. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Mujāhid passed by them, so Sufyān said: This man is a liar” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 1:76). Yaḥyā Ibn Sa‘īd said, “Sa‘īd Ibn ‘Ubayd Ibn Muslim narrated from ‘Amr Ibn al-Walīd, who said, I was sitting with Sufyān, and I said, ‘al-Bari narrated to me from Mansūr from Abū Wa‘īl from ‘Abd Allāh, regarding wiping over leather socks during ablution’ to which Sufyān replied, ‘He has lied’” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 1:76). As a result Shu‘bah, Sufyān Ibn ‘Uyaynah, Abū

°Āṣim al-Nabīl, Yaḥyā Ibn Ma°īn, and others from amongst the scholars, would say, “Sufyān (al-Thawrī) is the commander of the believers in the field of *Ḥadīth*” (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 11:164).

Thirdly, °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Maḥdī. Was another scholar who was very severe against the fabricators. Abū Ḥātim said that he heard Nu°aym Ibn Ḥammād say that he asked °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Maḥdī how he identified fabricators. He replied, “The way that a doctor identifies a madman” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 1:252). Aḥmad Ibn Sīnān said that he heard °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Maḥdī say, “I threatened °Isā Ibn Maymūn regarding these *Aḥādīth* which he narrated about oaths, so he said, I will not do so again” (°Ajāj, 1981:231).

I have mentioned a few scholars here, but there are many *Ḥadīth* scholars who have made great efforts against the fabricators. The books of weak and rejected narrators of *Ḥadīth*, of which there are a large number, contain many such incidents which detail the prosecution of the fabricators by the scholars of *Ḥadīth*. The result of this effort against the fabricators was that many of the fabricators ceased trying to openly propagate their fabrication. Some fabricators stopped narrating their fabrication totally, and returned to opposing fabrication. The general populace began to discern between the scholars of *Ḥadīth* and the fabricators.

The results of the efforts of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in countering liars and preserving the *Ḥadīth*

There is a clear result emanating from the efforts of the *Ḥadīth* scholars in countering the manifestation of fabrication in *Ḥadīth*, in that many works were written

concerning topics not previously written about or researched. Asking for the *isnād*, travelling in the pursuit of Ḥadīth, analysing Ḥadīth and narrations and filtering out the strong from weak, all led to the appearance of disciplines specialising in various aspects of the Ḥadīth, in ways previously unknown. Eventually, three distinct disciplines emerged from this endeavour of the early Ḥadīth scholars, which I will now discuss. The purpose of all these disciplines was to safeguard the Ḥadīth of the Prophet of Allāh.

1. The discipline of the histories of the narrators

This discipline looks at the time in which the narrator lived, the place or places in which s/he lived, his/her name, the names of all narrators who had a similar name to him/her, the name of his/her father, the names of all those narrators who had a name similar to his/her father's, his/her lineage, those narrators of the same descent, his/her titles, and the names of the narrators who had similar titles, his/her agnomen, and the narrators who had similar agnomen, the date of his/her death, and all narrators who died in the same year as s/he.

With regards to this it is found that the Ḥadīth scholars wrote separate works on every sub-topic mentioned above: books dealing with names in alphabetical order, books dealing with narrators in accordance to their generation and class, location, dates of death, lineages, and agnomens, titles, and so on. In each sub-topic there are well-known works. Al-ʿUmarī (1984:61) lists the names of these works.

2. The discipline of differentiating the authentic from unauthentic

It was the need to differentiate *Ḥadīth*, the authentic from unauthentic, which led the *Ḥadīth* scholars to investigate the narrators and pronounce verdicts on them. This resulted in numerous works being written, some of which analysed chains of narrations, discussed various narrators, and gave verdicts on the *Ḥadīth* in question. These were known as books of *al-ʿIlal*. Some wrote books collating only the authentic *Ḥadīth* and others wrote books collating the authentic and good *Ḥadīth*. In reality, this discipline is the culmination of the two others mentioned before and after it.

3. The discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*

When questions were first asked concerning the *isnād*, when narrators were investigated, when their *Aḥādīth* analysed, birth was given to principles and maxims which the scholars used and put into writing. Books which later attained great acclaim were written defining precisely the principles used to judge these narrators. The composed works amalgamated the principles and maxims of this discipline, with narrators who were disparaged, narrators who were authenticated, and with both the disparaged and authenticated narrators. In appendix F (see p 275). I have examined the linguistic and technical meanings of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.

Conclusion

The Prophet said (al-Ḥakīm, 1986: vol. 1:93), “‘I have left with you two matters, such that you will never stray while you remain steadfast to them.’ The Companions asked, ‘What are they?’ The Prophet replied, ‘The book of Allāh and my *Sunnah*’.” The book of Allāh is clearly the *Qurʾān*. As for his *Sunnah* then this is Prophet’s

‘way’, and refers to all that he said, did or approved of. Thus, through this *Ḥadīth*, which was stated at the farewell *ḥajj* (the annual pilgrimage) to an audience of over one hundred thousand Companions (Ibn Ḥajar, 1939: vol. 1:4), the Prophet sketched upon the hearts and minds of Muslims the elevated status of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. Nothing comes after the *Qurʾān* except the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, and the first to recognise this were his Companions. Due to this they paid great attention to the *Ḥadīth*, and after them the successors followed suit. The Muslim scholars have followed in their footsteps till this very day, so they do not accept narrations of *Ḥadīth* except with an *isnād*.

Nevertheless many fabricated *Ḥadīth* found their way into scholars works due to a variety of reasons. Some were sincere in trying to encourage people to do good and avoid evil whilst others were intent upon personal gain whilst others still were keen on destroying the *Sunnah*.

Thus, when fabrication started in the last third of the first century *hijrī*, the scholars of *Ḥadīth* increased their strictness in accepting *Ḥadīth*, and thus they began to combat this calamity in order to protect the *Ḥadīth*. They did this by demanding an authentic *isnād*, by introducing a scholarly siege of the places where fabrication occurred (such as Iraq), and by exposing the fabricators and liars. From this detailed scrutiny arose a number of benefits. From amongst them were the development of the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*, such that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (1988:4-7) enumerated 65 classifications of *Ḥadīth*, and al-Suyūṭī (1989:224) increased upon that by ten. However, all these may be divided into three broad disciplines, namely, the discipline of *Tārīkh al-Rrowāt* (the histories of the narrators), the discipline of *al-*

Taṣḥīḥ wa al-Taʿdīl (differentiating the authentic from unauthentic), and the discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* (disparagement and authentication). The purpose of all these disciplines was the protection of the Prophetic Ḥadīth, and perhaps the most important of them is the discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* – which is a discipline that only the Muslims, of all religions, have developed and specialised, after the expenditure of great effort by Muslim scholars. The discipline of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* is itself divisible into two – theoretical and practical. The theoretical side deals with the principles upon which we identify accepted and rejected narrators, and by which their narrations are graded. The practical side deals with the actual gradation of individual narrators.

These two categories were well known to the scholars of Ḥadīth, who wrote many books explaining them. From amongst the most famous of these scholars was Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256 AH / 869 CE). In chapters six and seven of my research I shall critically examine the methodology of al-Bukhārī in his most famous book on *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, which is perhaps the oldest and most famous book on the subject itself, namely ‘*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Ṣaghīr*’.

Part Two:

Al-Bukhārī and His Era

Chapter Three

The Era of the Author in Focus

Introduction

Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī lived in the third century *hijrī*, which equates to the ninth century CE, and to be exact from 194 AH / 810 CE to 256 AH / 870 CE. The historians have mentioned that the Abbasid dynasty began with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 132 AH / 749 CE, and continued until the fall of Baghdad in 656 AH / 1258 CE at the hands of the Mongols (Ibn Kathīr, 1997: vol. 10:32-34). The historians have divided this lengthy era of Abbasid rule into three periods (al-Ṣulābī, 1998:82), Appendix H (see p 287) contains details of the Caliphs in each of these three periods. Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī lived during the first two Abbasid periods, and witnessed the influence of the Persians during the first, and the Turks during the second. This influence had certain social and political manifestations, the most important of which were revolts and rebellions, and innovations in the religion. Similarly, there were repercussions upon the cultural and intellectual life of that period. The most important of these were the emergence of major centres of learning, the recording of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth* and the dissemination of the major books of *Ḥadīth*, and lastly an increase in travelling in search of Knowledge, particularly the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*. I shall now examine these, and their effects upon society.

The socio-political conditions during al-Bukhārī's lifetime

Al-Bukhārī witnessed the reign of nine Abbasid Caliphs, four of them from the first period and five from the second. After researching into the history of the Abbasids, it becomes clear to me that this period witnessed great tumult and political upheaval, which sometimes left the Caliphate in a state of weakness. This condition assisted the occurrence of a number of revolts in various regions of the empire. After examining

these revolts, I can conclude that they arose due to one of two reasons. The first, was that they were based on aspects of belief, such as the *Kharmiyyah* (followers of Bābik al-Kharmī) revolt, which lasted for 20 years. The second, was due to the oppression of the governors who were appointed by the Caliph. Here, I shall describe two of the revolts which occurred during the lifetime of al-Bukhārī. Appendix J (see p 289) contains further examples of such revolts. All the details of these incidents would require a separate thesis. These details can be obtained from the book ‘*al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*’ of Ibn al-Athīr, and ‘*al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*’ of Ibn Kathīr.

The *Kharmiyyah* revolt

This revolt began at the end of the rule of the Abbasid Caliph al-Maʿmūn, whose Caliphate was between the year 198 AH / 813 CE and 218 AH / 833 CE. The *Kharmiyyah* were the followers of Bābik al-Kharmī who held beliefs that were unknown to the Muslims of that time. They were known as *Ibāḥī*, those who used to permit that which was known to as impermissible in Islam. It was for this reason that the Muslims used to regard them to be disbelievers, and fought them and their followers. Al-Ghazālī (1964:14) said, while explaining the reason for their being named *al-Kharmiyyah*, that the name is a non-Arabic name, which means having a passion or longing for something that is desired. He explained that this, in summary, is their philosophy of life, since they based all their beliefs on their desires. This group is one of the many groups that comprise the *Bāṭiniyyah* (a group of sects who gave esoteric meanings to the Islamic religion). Among the beliefs that they held was reincarnation. Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Shihristānī (1994: vol. 1:110-111) mentioned that this belief was first held by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAmr Ibn al-Kindī. They did not hold to the obligatory duties that a Muslim is required to. Their entire religion revolved around

their leaders, and they believed in two gods. They also believed there were no restrictions with regard to relations between men and women. This sect reached its pinnacle in the time of the Caliph al-Mu[°]ta[°]ṣim Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn [°]Abd Allāh (Ibn Kathīr, 1997: vol. 10:235-236) whose Caliphate was between the year 218 AH / 833 CE and 227 AH / 841 CE.

Their rebellion spanned twenty years in total, beginning even before the Caliph al-Mu[°]ta[°]ṣim, until finally, in the year 222 AH / 836 CE; they were defeated at the battle of al-Ashfin (Ibn Kathīr, 1997: vol. 10:238). In this battle their leader Bābik al-Kharmī was crucified in Samarra in Iraq (Ibn al-Athīr, 1965: vol. 4: 125-309).¹

The Mubarqa[°] revolt

Al-Mubarqa[°] resided in *al-Shām* and was also known by Abū Ḥarb al-Yamānī. His story began, as Ibn Kathīr (1997: vol. 10:247) mentions, when some soldiers of the Caliph wanted to rest on his property, but his wife prevented them from doing so. In response to this, one of the soldiers struck her, so she went to al-Mubarqa[°] and complained to him. Al-Mubarqa[°] found the soldier and killed him and then fled to the mountains of Jordan. There he hid himself and covered his entire face save his eyes (the Arabic term for this is *burqa[°]* and from it his name is derived.) There he began to enjoin righteousness upon the people and prohibit evil, and also began to speak out against the ruler. He also pretended to be *Amawī* (from the Umayyad), so the people of that region flocked to him declaring him to be al-Sufiyānī. After this many of the tribal leaders of Yemen joined him, among them Ibn Bahīs who was highly respected amongst his people, such that one hundred thousand men joined his

¹- (www.iraqcenter.net/vb/showpost.php?p=59458&postcount=4) and (www.iraqcenter.net/vb/showpost.php?p=59459&postcount=5) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

ranks. Al-Mu^ctaṣīm prepared an army of one thousand men, with Rajā^ṣ Ibn Ayyūb at their head. Rajā^ṣ feared the battle due to the large numbers of the opposing army, so he camped opposite them and awaited the harvest, so that the soldiers of al-Mubārqa^c would wish to return to their homes. When the harvest approached, they indeed began to return to their homes. However, al-Mu^ctaṣīm died at this time which sparked tribulations in Damascus. The succeeding Caliph, al-Wāthiq, ordered Rajā^ṣ Ibn Ayyūb to return to Damascus to kill the ones that began these tribulations, and then to return to al-Mubārqa^c. Rajā^ṣ returned to Damascus as he was ordered and dealt with the troubles there. After this he returned to al-Mubārqa^c and captured him along with Ibn Bahīs killing twenty thousand of his men. These events occurred in the year 227 AH / 841 CE as has been detailed by Ibn Kathīr (1997: vol. 10:247).

In short, it can be seen that the Caliphs of this time were generally weak. There were, however, some among them who were righteous, but this did not benefit the people they ruled, due to the great Turkish influence. I shall mention some examples to illustrate this. Firstly, al-Mutawakkil supported the opinion of *Ahl al-Sunnah* (people who follow the way of the Prophetic *Sunnah*) with regards to the creation of the *Qur'ān* at a time when the favoured opinion was against them. Secondly, al-Muhtadī was pious, just, and used to fast frequently, as has been stated by al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 12:536). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 3:349) quoted from Abū Mūsā al-^cAbbāsī describing al-Muhtadī thus: “He held to a fast from the day he was appointed Caliph to the day he was assassinated.” Thirdly, the Caliphs experienced a great negative influence from the Turkish commanders and their military strength. Due to this, there were many attempts by the Caliphs to remove this influence. One such attempt was when al-Mutawakkil (Ibn Kathīr, 1997: vol. 10:288) tried to move

the capital from Baghdad to Damascus. In addition al-Muntaṣir (Ibn Kathīr, 1997: vol. 10:295) used to describe the Turks as the murderers of the Caliphs showing his disdain for their influence on him.

Innovations in the Religion

The political turmoil of the Abbasid period during which al-Bukhārī lived strengthened the sects which were based on innovated beliefs. These sects rose and fell in strength according to the support they received from the governing officials. For example, the *Shī'ah* became powerful during the first Abbasid period, when the Caliphate was under the influence of the Persians. Another example is the *Murji'ah* (a sect who denied the effects of actions upon faith), who were strengthened to the extent that they developed an entire school of theology, with their own principles, scholars and debaters. Similarly, we find other sects such as the *Mu'tazilah* (the deserters); A sect who affirmed the meanings of Allāh's names but denied his attributes, the *Qadariyyah* (a sect that believes that Allāh has no knowledge of all matters prior to their occurrence) who increased in strength during this period. Here, I shall examine only those sects whom al-Bukhārī has used as a basis for considering a narrator as weak in *al-Du'afā'*. After examination, I have found there to be five such sects, namely the *Murji'ah*, the *Qadariyyah*, the *Khawārij*, the *Shī'ah* and the *Mu'tazilah*.

Firstly, *al-Irjā'*

This sect strengthened considerably during the third century *hijrī*, during which time al-Bukhārī lived, and he was very strict against those who professed this belief. He even went to the extent of weakening some narrators of *Ḥadīth* due to their affiliation

to this sect. I shall mention those narrators, whom al-Bukhārī has weakened in this fashion in his book *al-Duʿafāʾ*, in the chapter on the criticisms levelled against al-Bukhārī.

Muslim scholars have mentioned a number of different definitions of *al-Irjāʾ*, but I have chosen here what I argue to be the most comprehensive definition which is that of al-Ṭabarī (1982: vol. 2:182),

The predominant usage of the people of knowledge with regards to the sects of our times is that this term relates to the one who claims that *imān* (belief) is purely statement without action, and that the sacred laws are not part of *imān*; rather that *imān* is just the affirmation by speech without the need for any action.

The books of sects have mentioned the levels of *al-Irjāʾ*, or what could be referred to as the sub-sects of the *Murjʾah*.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (1995: vol. 1:213-223) has enumerated these sub-sects to be twelve in number. The first was *al-Jahmiyyah*, the followers of al-Jahm Ibn Ṣafwān. The second was the followers of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī. The third was the followers of Yūnus al-Sammārī. The fourth was the followers of Abū Shammar. The fifth was the followers of Abū Thawbān. The sixth was *al-Najjāriyyah*, the followers of al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad al-Najjār. The seventh was the followers of Ghaylān al-Dimashqī. The eighth was the followers of Muḥammad Ibn Shabīb. The ninth was Abū Ḥanīfah and his followers. The tenth was the followers of Abū Muʿādh al-Tūmanī. The eleventh was the followers of Bishr al-Mirrīsī. The last was *al-Karrāmiyyah*, the followers of Muḥammad Ibn Karrām.

After examining these different sects, I argue that they can be divided into three levels. The first level, are those who say that *imān* is affirmation of the heart along

with the statement of the tongue. This definition is popularly attributed to Abū Ḥanīfah and his Companions. *Al-Najjāriyyah* and Bishr al-Mirrīsī also adopted this definition. The second level are those who say that *imān* is only the statement of the tongue, and this was the belief of *al-Karrāmiyyah* and Ghaylān al-Dimashqī. The third level was those who said that *imān* is only the belief in the heart. Most of the sects of the third level include in this the actions of heart (such as fear or love), such as Yūnus al-Sammarī, Abū Shammar, the followers of Ghaylān, and the followers of Muḥammad Ibn Shabīb. The other sects of this level did not include actions of the heart in their definition of *imān*, such as *al-Jahmiyyah* and al-Ṣāliḥī. Further details on this classification can be obtained from Ibn Taymiyyah (1995: vol. 7:195) and al-Shihristānī (1994: vol. 1:101).

There has been considerable disagreement between Muslim scholars regarding the meaning of ‘Blameworthy *Irjāʾ*’, especially the scholars of the *Ḥanafī* school of jurisprudence. This is because many of the *Ḥanafī* scholars have been accused of *al-Irjāʾ*. In any case, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 4:99) has summarised the situation in his statement, “*al-Irjāʾ* is the *madhhab* (school of theology) of a number of the major scholars, and therefore it is inappropriate to censure the one who professes it.” He also (1963: vol. 3:351) mentioned, “It [*al-Irjāʾ*] is far better than the innovation of *al-Qadariyyah*.”

Secondly, *al-Qadariyyah*

This sect strengthened during the third century *hijrī*, especially in Baṣra, as this was its birthplace. This term has been used by *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah* (people who follow the way of the Prophetic *Sunnah* and the consensus of the Muslims) to

describe those who deny that Allāh intends the actions of His bondsmen and desires these actions of them. They also deny that Allāh creates the actions of His bondsmen, and thus they deny Intent (*Mashīʿah*) and Creation (*Khalq*) of Allāh in a general sense. *al-Qadariyyah* passed through various stages. As such I have found that in the beginning they would only deny the pre-eternal knowledge that Allāh has of all things, prior to their existence or occurrence and their inscription in *al-lawḥ al-Maḥfūẓ* (the preserved tablet). This is what was said by Maʿbad al-Juhanī.

However, this thought soon died out, as has been mentioned by al-Qurṭubī and others (Ibn Taymiyyah, 1995: vol. 8:256-261), particularly with the rise of *ʿIlm al-Kalām* (scholastic theology) amongst *al-Qadariyyah*. When this happened, the majority of them began to accept the pre-eternity of Allāh’s knowledge, and only denied the generality of Intent and Creation, as mentioned by Ibn Taymiyyah (1988:369). Some of the narrators of *Ḥadīth*, particularly those from Baṣra, fell into this as this belief became widespread in those parts. Despite this, however, the scholars of *Ḥadīth* accepted their narrations due to their honesty, as al-Dhahbī (1992: vol. 6:126) has said, “A group from amongst the trustworthy narrators fell into the beliefs of *al-Qadariyyah*, we ask Allāh’s forgiveness for them.” and he also (1992: vol. 7:21) said, “A group of narrators have been tainted with the beliefs of *al-Qadariyyah*, but their narrations are present in the two *Ṣiḥāḥ*, or in one of them, as they are ascribed with truthfulness and precision in narration.”

Thirdly, *al-Khawārij*

This sect developed and spread well before the third century *hijrī*. The term was first used for those who revolted against ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Caliph. However,

they have a number of names, such *al-Ḥarūriyah*, due to their withdrawal to the town of *Ḥarwrā'* (a village in Iraq, near Kufa). They are also called *al-Muḥakmah*, and *al-Māriqah*, and *al-Shurāt*. *Al-Khawārij* later developed into a large number of sects, but their origins go back to eight sects, the most prominent of being the *ʿIbāḍīyah* (the followers of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿIbāḍ) and *al-Azāriqah* (the followers of Nāfiʿ Ibn al-Azraq). However, a discussion of all details would require a separate thesis. These details can be found in the books of the sects. When considering the acceptance of a particular narration, *al-Khurīj* (the act of rebelling against the leader) is from the 'light' forms of innovation, as it has very little effect upon the truthfulness of the narrator. Al-Ajurī argued, "I heard Abū Dāwūd say, 'amongst the *Ahl al-Ahawā'* (people who follow their desires) there are none more correct in narration than *al-Khawārij*'" (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 22:323). Al-Bukhārī (Ibn Ḥajar, 1986:454-455) has used as evidence the statement of ʿImrān Ibn Ḥiṭān in one *Ḥadīth* in his *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, and has used him for support in another. However, al-Bukhārī is not above criticism in this regard, as al-Badr al-ʿAinī (n.d: 13: 22) argued,

ʿImrān Ibn Ḥiṭān was from the leaders of *al-Khawārij*, and their poet. It was he who praised Ibn Muljam, the murderer of ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, through his well-known poetry. I argue that it is necessary to leave his narrations. How can one narrate from one who praises the murder of ʿAlī? Some scholars have mentioned that al-Bukhārī has narrated from him using his principle regarding narrating from innovators who are truthful and religious. However, I say that al-Bukhārī has no proof for narrating his *Ḥadīth*, and Muslim did not narrate from him. How can he be truthful when he has delved deeply into falsehood through his praise of Ibn Muljam the accursed!? How can a religious person be happy with the murder of the likes of ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib to the extent that he praises his murderer!?

Fourthly, Shi'ism

This sect developed and spread well before the third century *hijrī*. The Shi'ites may be divided into two levels, the *Rāfiḍah* and the *Shi'ah*. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (1987: vol. 2:245), while commenting upon the *Rāfiḍah*, explains the difference between them by saying,

They [*al-Rāfiḍah*] are named such as they rejected Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. No other sect from amongst the sects of the Muslims have done so. The *Shiʿah*, on the other hand, are those who only consider ʿAlī to be superior in virtue to ʿUthmān, without rejecting the first two Caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

Al-Bukhārī has narrated from some *Shiʿah*, but has also weakened one narrator in his *al-Duʿafāʾ* due to him being a Shiʿite. I shall mention this narrator in chapter seven, on the criticisms levelled against al-Bukhārī. Al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:6) argued,

It may be asked, how can an innovator be considered trustworthy while the basis of trustworthiness is uprightness and precision? So how can a person of innovation be considered ‘upright’? The answer is that innovation is of two types. The first are the ‘minor innovations’, such as Shiʿism, particularly that without extremism. This is common amongst the successors of the Companions and those who followed them. These people possessed some attributes of Shiʿism while being people of religion and honesty. If we were to reject all the narration of these people then we would lose a portion of the Prophetic narrations, which is clearly undesirable. The second are the ‘major innovations’ such as *al-Rawāfiḍ Shiʿah*, who denigrate Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, (may Allāh be pleased with them), and those who call to that. This category of narrators should not be narrated from. I would add to them the *Shiʿah* of our time who are known for lying and hypocrisy. It is not possible for us to accept the narrations of such people. This is because the extreme *Shiʿah* in the time of the early generations were those who would curse ʿUthmān, Zubair, Ṭalḥah, Muʿāwiyah and a group of the Companions who opposed ʿAlī. However, the extreme *Shiʿah* today are those who declare those Companions to be disbelievers, along with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Such a person is misguided and lost.

Fifthly, *Al-ʿItizāl*

This sect developed and spread before the third century *hijrī*. *Al-Muʿtazilah* were founded by Wāṣil Ibn ʿAṭāʾ al-Ghazzāl. He was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but disagreed with him on some issues, and so he abandoned the circle of al-Ḥasan. Due to this Wāṣil, and those who joined him were labelled *al-Muʿtazilah*, which means those who ‘abandoned’ (al-Jurjānī, 2000:219). This sect developed many beliefs contrary to the beliefs of *Ahl al-Sunnah*, which are mentioned in the books of history and sects. The most well known of these beliefs is their affirmation of the names of Allāh but their denial of His attributes (al-Ashʿarī, 1995: vol. 1:235).

In short, I would argue that despite the presence of the belief of *Ahl al-Sunnah* in most regions of the Muslim domain during the third century *hijrī*, many sects

developed and spread throughout the domain. After researching into this issue, I have found that there are a number of reasons for this occurrence. A comprehensive study of these reasons would require lengthy research, which is not within the scope of this thesis, and so I shall examine two of the most important reasons that I argue were responsible for this development. The first was the conversion of many different nations with their cultures to Islam, which brought many people from diverse religious backgrounds into the Muslim sphere. Doubtless, from amongst these people were those who accepted Islam willingly and with conviction, and also there were those who did so grudgingly and with the desire to change Islam to suit their own desires and preferences. The second reason was the translation into the Arabic language works of Greek philosophy and logic, which then became important sources for the sects such as *al-Jahmiyyah* and *al-Mu^ctazilah*. This resulted in the confusion of the masses over complex theological issues.

Similarly, the appearance of the schools of jurisprudence (*al-Madhāhib al-Fiqhiyyah*) during this period, had a great effect upon the Muslim societies. Their followers became firmly entrenched in their *madhhab* and believed that to be the most correct methodology, and to have the most correct understanding. These different sects based on belief and the schools of jurisprudence galvanised the scholar's efforts in researching their positions, debating their deductions and beliefs, and refuting those who opposed them. This resulted in the establishment of the foundations of belief and principles of each of these sects and schools. This developed into a major intellectual heritage of the third century *hijrī*. I shall discuss this in more detail in the next section.

The intellectual life during al-Bukhārī's lifetime

The third century *hijrī* in which al-Bukhārī lived was the golden age of the Abbasid period. Under the patronage of the Abbasid Caliphate, the intellectual life of the entire state - this covered areas as far east as Central Asia, to as far west as Morocco - witnessed a blossoming never seen before. This intellectual progression was of different types, namely the emergence of centres of learning, the increase in authorship in the various Muslim and scientific disciplines, and the start of travelling in pursuit of knowledge. Here I shall examine this intellectual development in detail.

The emergence of centres of learning in the third century

The emergence of centres of learning is one of the primary characteristics of Muslim society and culture in the time of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī. After the death of the Prophet Muḥammad many of his Companions travelled to different lands and settled there. Around them gathered their students, who in turn passed on what they had learnt to their students. The presence of so many Muslim scholars concentrated in one area had a deep effect on the people of that area, and made famous those regions, such that people seeking to learn the Muslim disciplines would travel to them from the furthest corners of the Muslim state. The numbers and calibre of the scholars in different lands led to many differences between these centres of learning. Also, there is no doubt that of all the centres of learning in the Muslim world at that time, Baghdad was the most important, for a number of reasons. Of these, a major reason was that it was the seat of power for the Muslim Caliphate, at that time in the hands of the Abbasid dynasty.

In this section I will discuss the most important centres in the Muslim world in the time of Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, starting with Iraq. Then I will discuss the other centres which were: *bilād mā warāʾ al-nahr* (lands beyond the river *Jayhūn*, also known as Amu Darya), *Khurasān*, *Ḥijāz* (Western part of the Arabian Peninsula), then Syria and finally Egypt; to all of which al-Bukhārī travelled in his quest for knowledge.

Firstly, Iraq / Baghdad

It was the most important centre of learning of the third century. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim (1977:194) said, “It is the city of knowledge, a theatre of scholars and eminent people.” Such words can be understood in light of the fact that the seat of Muslim government remained in Baghdad for over 524 years, from when the Abbasid dynasty moved the capital of the Muslim state from Syria to Iraq. The building of Baghdad commenced in the year 141 AH / 758 CE during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, and as I alluded to earlier, their reign spanned over five centuries from 132 AH / 749 CE to 656 AH / 1258 CE. Regardless of what this author writes it will not do justice in conveying the importance of this city, likened to a golden pulpit in the Muslim state. However, if one wishes to learn more about this city, one should refer to the famous book of al-Baghdādī ‘*Tārīkh Baghdād*’ (A history of Baghdad) which should satisfy the hunger of anyone wishing to learn about its history and importance. Baghdad was not just an important centre of learning for Muslims and the scholars of *Ḥadīth* alone, but it was important for the whole world, especially in the third century, and this led many students of knowledge to travel to it from distant lands. I will discuss here some of the disciplines developed and studied there, for which the city became famous, along with the names of the

most illustrious scholars there. From amongst all the scholars, the most important inhabitant of Baghdad in the third century was al-Bukhārī. In the discipline of the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad, two of the most famous scholars of Baghdad were Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn both teachers of al-Bukhārī. I shall discuss them in detail in the section on al-Bukhārī's teachers. In astronomy was the great scholar Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (d. 272 AH / 886 CE) who left behind as his legacy over thirty books in this field as mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (1978:386-387). His book '*al-Madkhal al-Kabīr*' is still available today, and has been translated and printed many times. Geography was another subject studied in Baghdad, and its most famous scholar, and the first to author books on it, was Aḥmad Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292 AH / 904 CE). His book '*al-Buldān*' (the countries) is considered to be the first book written on this subject, and describes the different countries of the Earth. Besides these disciplines, medicine and mathematics were also thriving.

Baṣra

Baṣra, today, is one of the major cities of Iraq and is situated in the south east of the country. At the time of al-Bukhārī it was one of the closest cities to the seat of government. Many of the knowledgeable amongst the *ṣaḥābah* (Companions of the Prophet) settled there, and around them gathered their students. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim (1977:192) lists the names of 36 Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad who settled in Baṣra, including ʿImrān Ibn Ḥuṣayn and Anas Ibn Mālīk, the latter served the Prophet Muḥammad from the day the Prophet entered the city of Madinah till the day he died. At the beginning of the second century the *Muʿtazilah* sect came into existence in Baṣra under the guidance of its founder Wāṣil Ibn ʿAṭāʾ al-Ghazzāl, and

it remained an important base for the followers of this school of thought along with the followers of another sect considered heretical by mainstream Muslim society, *al-Qadariyyah*. Baṣra benefited from its proximity to Baghdad, and itself flourished as a centre of learning in the Muslim world. Two great scholars of *Ḥadīth* resided in this city, Mūsā Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Tabūdhakī and al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Makhlad Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl.

Kufa

Kufa today is one of the cities of Iraq, and is located near Baghdad. Intended to become an alternative capital to *al-Madāʾin*, the capital of the fallen Persian empire, ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the second Muslim Caliph, ordered his governor Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to begin its construction in 17 AH / 638 CE. Once it became apparent to ʿUmar that the climate of *al-Madāʾin* did not suit the Arab soldiers, he wrote to his governor that the Arabs could only live in a place that their camels found suitable. Saʿd then ordered his commanders to find a place that was not separated from Madinah by sea or mountains. Abū Al-Hayyāj ʿAmr Ibn Mālik was put in charge of the preparations, and the city he established became known as *Kūfah al-Jund* (from the word '*Takawwuf*' which means 'gathering together'), as it began as a place of gathering for the Muslim soldiers. Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh (1977:190) gives the names of 45 Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad who moved to Kufa and remained there for the rest of their lives. In addition to this, the fourth Caliph ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib moved the capital of his government to Kufa, and so it became a place in which one would find the Companions of the Prophet, and then in later years their students. Thus, in this city the disciplines of *Ḥadīth* and Muslim jurisprudence flourished and many people travelled to benefit from the scholars of the city. With

the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, the Abbasid dynasty began its rule from Kufa until the time Baghdad was founded. Many scholars of the *Ahl al-Ra'y* (a school of jurisprudence that used rational argument, predominantly the *Hanafi* School) gathered in Kufa, most famous of whom is probably Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān Ibn Thābit.

Secondly, the centres of learning 'beyond the river'

The river here refers to the river of *Jayhūn*², which is also known as the river Amu Darya, and the scholars of *Ḥadīth* and history describe the countries beyond it as 'the lands beyond the river'. Despite there being a huge distance between this area and the land where the Caliphate was established, and the holy cities of Islam Makkah and Madinah, a number of centres of learning were established in this area.

The most famous of these was the city of *Bukhārā*, from which hailed Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī. Barthold³ writes in an article about the city of *Bukhārā*, "We have very little information on the history of this city before the advent of Islam, despite it having been around for centuries prior to Islam. The Chinese called this city *Numa*, but as for its current name, it appears to have its roots in the Turkish / Mongol word *Bukhr* which means a monk's hermitage or monastery and this may explain its name, since before Islam a great number of Buddhist monks used to live there. When the Muslims, under the leadership of 'Ubaid Allāh Ibn Ziyād, approached the city in 54 AH / 674 CE it was ruled by a famous family called '*Bukhār Khaddāt*' which literally translates to 'the rulers of *Bukhārā*.' But it was not

²-The largest river in Central Asia, flowing through Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. See (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amu_Darya)

³-(www.ziedan.com/islamic_cities/4.asp) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

until 90 AH / 708 CE, under the leadership of Qutaibah Ibn Muslim, that Islam became firmly established in the city.” Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1995. vol. 2:67) describes the city saying,

It was the greatest of all the cities beyond the river and the base of the Samanid Kingdom. It was seven days travelling distance from Samarqand or 37 *Farsakh* (around 110 miles). Its land was fertile and lush with vegetation such that people described it as a place where the beauty of the land touched the beauty of the sky ... palaces could be found throughout the land, and its houses appeared flat, reflecting like mirrors. There was no town or city in the land beyond the river, nor in *Khurasān*, whose people were more cultured and civilized, or greater in number.

Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī grew up here. Today *Bukhārā* is a town in the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Samarqand

This was one of the major cities lying ‘beyond the river’, and indeed it was the capital city of the area for 500 years from the time of the Samanids to that of Timur. It was a major centre of learning, and it is associated with the name of numerous great scholars. Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh (1977:194) mentions that the Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, Qatham Ibn al-ʿAbbās moved to the city and lived there till he died. The famous scholar and author of the book ‘*al-Ṣalāh*’ Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr al-Marwazī also lived there, as did the famous scholar of *Ḥadīth* ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, who authored the famous collection ‘*al-Sunan*’. Today, Samarqand is amongst the largest and most important cities of Uzbekistan⁴.

Thirdly, centres of learning in and around *Khurasān*

In the past the province of Greater *Khurasān* was a large expanse of land, located in the North East of modern-day Iran, and consisted of the areas of Amu Darya, Hindu

⁴- (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samarkand) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

Kush, ‘the lands beyond the river’, *Sijistān* and *Quhistān*. During the Sassanid period, Greater *Khurasān* was ruled by four administrators with the king’s order, each responsible for one of the four parts which were firstly *Mary Shahjān*, secondly *Balkh* and *Tukharistān*, thirdly *Herāt*, *Bushanj*, *Badqhis* and *Sijistān*, and fourthly ‘the lands beyond the river’. During *Qajar* period (18th - 20th Century), the land of *Khurasān* was reduced by more than half of its ancient size. The remainder of its land is now located in Afghanistan and the former U.S.S.R.

Khurasān had always played a great role in the revival of the Persian language and literature. Moreover, it was the home of poets and writers such as Rudakī, Ferdowsī, °Omar Khayyām, and well-known philosophers such as Abū °Alī Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Abū Rayhān al-Bayrūnī, al-Khawārizmī and al-Balkhī. Below, I shall discuss some of the prominent centres of learning from *Khurasān*.⁵

Balkh

This was both a great city and a famous centre of learning, known for its abundant resources and agriculture. It was situated on the banks of the river *Balkh* about 100 kilometres west of the city of *Mazār Sharīf*, as mentioned by Ibn Khillikān (n.d: vol. 2:56). A great number of famous scholars lived there. Today it is one of the important cities of northern Afghanistan⁶.

Mary

Also known as *Mary Shāhjān*, or the ‘Great Mary’, it was another important centre of learning in *Khurasān*. Its importance is derived from the fact that a number of

⁵-(www.itto.org/province/province.asp?prv=khr) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

⁶-(en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkh) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

Companions moved there, including Buraidah Ibn al-Ḥuṣaib as mentioned by al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh (1977:194). Over time, a great number of scholars concentrated there and no other area in *Khurasān* produced scholars like those of Mary. Today, Mary is located in South-Central Turkmenistan, and is its fourth largest city⁷.

Nisābūr

It was another important city and centre of learning in *Khurasān*. Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nisābūrī wrote a history of this city. Al-Ḥākim (1977:194) also mentions that Abū Barzah al-Aslamī, al-Ḥakam Ibn ʿAmr al-Ghifārī and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Khāzim al-Aslamī moved to *Nisābūr*. *Nisābūr*⁸ is located in the north of modern-day Iran, and is also called *Naishabūr*.

Al-Rayy

This is the ancient city of *al-Rayy*, whose ruins lie about six kilometres south of Tehran. It was a contemporary to the two cities of *Ninwa* and *Babylon*. In the first century of Islam it was a major centre of learning and many people travelled to it to study, and none could rival it in importance except Baghdad and *Nisābūr*⁹. Al-Balādhurī (1932:325) writes that, “The Muslims entered *al-Rayy* after ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb sent a letter to his commander ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, the governor of Kufa, two months after the famous battle of *Nahāwand*, against the Persians, that he should send ʿUrwah Ibn Zaid al-Ṭāʿī at the head of eight thousand fighters to *al-Rayy*.” Unfortunately, the city lost its splendour when the Mongol army invaded in the seventh century *hijrī*. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1995. vol. 5:76) writes in his book “*Al-Rayy*

⁷ (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary%2C_Turkmenistan) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

⁸ (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nishapur) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

⁹ www.hadith.ac.ir/?culture=ar-SA&pageid=1013) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

was a famous city – one of the most important in the land. It was a great city, but much of it was ruined.” Today, *al-Rayy* has been rebuilt as a new city, though much smaller. It is found in present day Iran, and one can still find remnants of the historical city close by.¹⁰

Fourthly, centres of learning in the area of *Ḥijāz*

The land of *Ḥijāz*, which includes the two holiest Muslim sites in Makkah and Madinah, lies on the western side of Saudi Arabia. The Red Sea separates the land of *Ḥijāz* from the main continent of Africa. It is a narrow plain that lies along the Red Sea, whose width varies from thirty to forty miles, reduces further in its northern parts. The coastal plain is characterised by extensive marshland and lava fields¹¹. I shall describe below the main centres of learning in the land of *Ḥijāz*.

Makkah

This is the city to which Muslims face in prayer all around the world, and it is the cradle of Muslim knowledge because it is here that the Prophet Muḥammad received revelation from Allāh. The importance of Makkah to Muslims, irrespective of their sect, cannot be hidden from any researcher into the Muslim disciplines, History and *Ḥadīth*. Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh (1977:192) provides the names of 26 Companions of the Prophet who settled there. In addition to this, the yearly pilgrimage to Makkah brought scholars of all disciplines from every place in the Muslim world to the heart of one city. What made Makkah so important as a centre of learning was that it was the tradition of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* to first make pilgrimage to the House of Allāh, and from there depart on various roads in their

¹⁰-(en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ray,Iran) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

¹¹-(en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hejaz) as viewed on 19th July 2006.

quest to increase their knowledge. Secondly, people used to be restricted to meeting the scholars of their own localities, due to the hardship of travelling, and the vastness of the Muslim empire. But the season of *Hajj* gathered all scholars in one city, so it facilitated meeting scholars who, in other seasons, one would have to travel for weeks or months to meet and sit with. Thus, Makkah grew in importance and attracted students of all disciplines to its environs, and this was in addition to the Makkan scholars themselves, some of whom I shall mention when I discuss the teachers of al-Bukhārī from amongst the scholars of Makkah. Many books have been written on the history of Makkah, such as ‘*Akhhbār Makkah*’ by Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Azraqī (d. 244 AH / 858 CE) which gives details of such matters.

Madinah

This is the second holiest city in Islam, sometimes referred to as *Madīnat al-Nabī* (city of the Prophet), as it is the place that he emigrated to and remained in until his death. It was there that the first Muslim State was established, and all Muslims recognise the central importance of this city as a nucleus of knowledge, regardless of sect or school of jurisprudence, since it was like a pulpit, standing above others, from which the knowledge of *Ḥadīth* and *Qurʾān* was disseminated. The Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad were found in this city throughout the first century, and students from the second generation of Muslims attached great importance to visiting this city to learn the Prophetic *Aḥādīth*. A number of books have been written on the history of Madinah such as ‘*al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah fī Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Sharīfah*’ by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902 AH / 1497CE) which gives details of such matters.

Fifthly, the centres of learning in *al-Shām*

The name *al-Shām* is said¹² to be derived from the name of the son of the Prophet Noah, Shem. It is bounded by the river Euphrates (in Iraq) to the north-east; to the north it borders modern-day Turkey, while to the south it borders with the Arabian peninsula, and to the south-west it touches the border of Egypt. It covers the region over which modern day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine/Israel and Jordan exist. No study of this region is complete without consulting Ibn ʿAsākir’s famous ‘*Tārīkh Dimashq*’ (History of Damascus) which discusses the history of *al-Shām* and its virtues. Damascus¹³ was considered the most important of all the centres of learning in *al-Shām*, as it was the chosen capital of the rulers of the Umayyad Empire. Scholars of many disciplines gathered here, especially scholars of *Ḥadīth*. Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh (1977:193) lists the names of 35 Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad who settled there.

Sixthly, Egypt

Ibn Kathīr (1997: vol. 7:80-81) records that *Miṣr* (Egypt) was conquered in the year 16 AH during the Caliphate of ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. However, its name was changed to *Fuṣṭāṭ* because ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ set up his camp (known as ‘*Fuṣṭāṭ*’ in Arabic) and people began to construct buildings around it, abandoning their old places of dwelling. After some time the camp of ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ was disbanded and a large mosque was constructed which still exists today. *Fuṣṭāṭ* was the capital of Egypt for the Muslims. During Muslim rule – and in particular during the reign of the Abbāsīd dynasty – Egypt was the scene of great development in various arts and disciplines, including the construction of a great many mosques, castles and

¹²- (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilad_al-Sham) as viewed on 19th July 2006)

¹³- (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Damascus) as viewed on 19th July 2006)

fortresses. Likewise the decorative arts, such as found in the first Muslim capital of Egypt, *Fuṣṭāṭ*. Egypt was also one of the main centres of learning in the third century, and attracted many students because of the great scholars residing there, who had studied with the third generation of Muslim scholars, who in turn had learnt directly from the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Ḥākim Abū °Abd Allāh (1977:193) gives the name of 17 Companions who lived in Egypt from the time of its conquest and resided there until their deaths.

In short, I have found that many of the intellectual centres developed a speciality in one or more of the Muslim disciplines. For example, Kufa and Baṣra became known for specialisation in the Arabic language, such that opinions regarding Arabic language became associated with one or other of the two cities. Other centres became known for narrating certain *Ḥadīth*, such as Egypt and *al-Shām*. Also, Madinah became known amongst the jurists for the actions of its people (*°amal ahl al-Madinah*), which was then used as an evidence by some jurists, such as the *Mālikiyah* (followers of Mālik school of jurisprudence). In some cases a single centre specialised in more than one discipline, which occurred due to various reasons, such as it being a capital city, as is the case with Baghdad.

The recording of the Prophetic *Sunnah* in the third century

The recording of the Prophetic *Sunnah* is the second salient feature of the intellectual life of the age of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā°il al-Bukhārī, that is the third century. What is meant here by the term *Sunnah* is the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. In addition to the recording of the *Sunnah*, its related disciplines were also recorded and codified. Researchers into *Ḥadīth* and history (°Atr; 1996:61-62) have stated that the recording

process underwent various stages and steps. This century sees this process in its third stage, which extends to the middle of the fourth century AH, which equates to mid-tenth century CE. It is known as the ‘Age of Recording’ - a complete recording of the *Sunnah* and its related disciplines. For this reason it is also called the ‘Golden Age’ of the *Sunnah* (al-Zahrānī, 1992:93). Much has been written concerning the recording that was carried out in this time, such as what has been written by Muḥammad ʿAjāj al-Khaṭīb in ‘*al-Sunnah Qabl al-Tadwīn*’; Akram al-ʿUmarī in ‘*Buḥūth fī Tārīkh al-Sunnah*’; and Muḥammad Ibn Maṭr al-Zahrānī in ‘*Tadwīn al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah: Nashaʾatuhū wa Taṭawwuruhū*’. Here I shall examine some of the efforts expended in this century and al-Bukhārī’s contribution.

The *Masānīd*

At the onset of the third century (Abū Zahwu, 1984:364) the Muslim *Ḥadīth* scholars initiated a new method of penning the *Ḥadīth* of the Messenger, which was called *masānīd* (sing. *musnad*). This recording method involves collating the *Aḥādīth* in accordance with the Companion who narrated them, regardless of what topic matter they dealt with and regardless of authenticity. They were organised by Companions alphabetically, or by tribes, or by precedence in Islam. Some of these works just dealt with the narrations of one Companion, such as the *musnad* of Abū Bakr, or they just dealt with the narrations of a particular group of Companions such as the *musnad* of the four Caliphs or the *musnad* of the ten promised paradise (al-Zahrānī, 1992:98). I shall examine here the most famous *musnad* written during that period. Further details of other *masānīd* can be found in appendix K (see p 292).

The *Musnad* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī (d. 240 AH / 854 CE) (al-Zahrānī, 1992:103-111). This is the most famous of the *masānīd* and it commences by recording the narrations narrated by the ten persons promised paradise. It has additional narrations added by his son, ʿAbd Allāh, and a few other narrations added by Abū Bakr al-Qaṭṭī, the narrator from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal. It contains 28,464 *Ḥadīth*. The most famous edition is that of *al-Maymaniyyah* in six volumes. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal did not make it a condition to collate only authentic *Aḥādīth* and hence it contains both authentic, sound and weak narrations. Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī wrote '*al-Qawl al-Musaddad fī al-Dhabb ʿan al-Musnad*' in which he refutes those who postulated that the *musnad* contains fabricated *Aḥādīth*. This work has been published numerous times, including an edition with the critical editing of Muḥammad al-Darwish. This work has received a great deal of attention by the *Ḥadīth* scholars and some of the *Ḥadīth* masters of Aṣbahān re-ordered it into chapters, according to the books of jurisprudence, such as Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Ruzaiq. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī arranged it alphabetically. It was also re-ordered into chapters according to the books of jurisprudence by Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bannā in his work '*al-Faṭḥ al-Rabbānī li Tartīb Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī*'. The margin of this edition has the book '*Bulūgh al-Amānī min Asrār al-Faṭḥ al-Rabbānī*' and it is available in print.

The *Ṣiḥāḥ*

The *masānīd* were not restricted to collating the authentic *Aḥādīth*, they also contained weak *Aḥādīth*. Hence only those who were skilled in *Ḥadīth* and its related disciplines really found them of great benefit. Moreover the method of authorship

made it difficult to trace a particular *Ḥadīth*. (Abū Zahwu, 1984:366) Then a new direction in authorship was taken and this method was called ‘*al-Ṣiḥāḥ*’ (sing. *Ṣaḥīḥ*) which was to collate the authentic *Aḥādīth* only, and to order these *Aḥādīth* in accordance to the chapters of jurisprudence and other chapters dealing with faith, character etc. This made it easier for the *Ḥadīth* scholars and jurists to find a relevant *Ḥadīth*. Numerous such works were written in this era and I shall examine below the most famous of them, the others are given in appendix K (see p 292).

Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (al-Zahrānī, 1992:112-121). This is famously known as ‘*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*’. He restricted himself to recording only the authentic *Aḥādīth* even though he did not record all the authentic *Aḥādīth*, and neither was this his purpose. He selected *Aḥādīth* from those he had memorised, which reached 600,000. ‘*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*’ contains 7685 *Aḥādīth* including repetition. His method was to split a *Ḥadīth* up in parts and place those parts under various relevant chapter headings. ‘*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*’ has been printed many times, the best and most famous edition being that of *al-Sulṭāniyyah*. Because of the lofty status of this work, it is regarded by most Muslims to be the most authentic book after the *Qur’ān*. The *Ḥadīth* scholars have devoted a great deal of attention to it and many have written commentaries on it. The most famous being ‘*Fath al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*’ by Abū al-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī. The author of this commentary presented biographies of the narrators, explained aspects of the *Aḥādīth* that were not clear, and then proceeded to extract jurisprudential issues from it, discuss the various opinions of the *Ḥadīth* scholars and then declare the strongest view. It is published in 13 volumes, excluding the introduction, with the critical notes of Fu‘ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī and has

been printed many times. Another famous commentary is ‘*Umdat al-Qārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*’ of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Āinī in which he delved into detail concerning jurisprudential issues along with presenting biographies of narrators. It is published in eleven volumes with no mention of date or edition.

The *Sunan*

Later, a new direction in authorship was taken (Abū Zahwī, 1984:367) which was to collate *Aḥādīth* in accordance to chapters of jurisprudence only, the point being to highlight jurisprudence. They did not set a condition to record the authentic *Aḥādīth* only, rather their works contain the authentic, the good, and the weak. These works famously became known as the *al-Sunan* (singular. *Sunnah*). Here I will examine the most prominent book authored in this period. Appendix K (see p 292) has details of other books.

Al-Sunan of Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī (d. 275 AH / 888 CE) (al-Zahrānī, 1992:131-135). This work comprised those *Aḥādīth* that deal with jurisprudence. If he recorded a weak *Ḥadīth* he mentioned this and he never recorded the *Ḥadīth* of someone who was abandoned by agreement. The number of *Aḥādīth* in his *Sunan* reach five thousand two hundred and seventy six. This number is subject to variance depending on editions and versions of the book. *Al-Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd is very well ordered and the *Ḥadīth* scholars praised it, advising those who were studying jurisprudence to refer to it. It is the first and best of the ‘Four *Sunans*’ and has been published on numerous occasions in Cairo and India. The most famous edition is that of Muḥī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in four volumes. The most famous commentary to it is ‘*Maʿālim al-Sunan*’ of Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī and is

published in Aleppo with the critical notes of Muḥammad Rāghub al-Ṭabbākh. Another famous commentary is ‘*ʿAwn al-Maʿbūd Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd*’ of Shams al-Ḥaḡ Muḥammad Ashraf al-Ṣiddīqī, famously called Shams al-Ḥaḡ al-ʿAzīmābādī. It was published in Delhi in 1323 AH / 1905 CE and then by *Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah*, 1410 AH / 1990 CE in the margin of which is Ibn al-Qayyim’s commentary.

Other books

Also written in this period (Al-ʿUmarī, 1984:62), the third century *hijrī*, were works dealing with the history of narrators. Amongst the scholars of *Ḥadīth* who wrote on this topic were Abū Zakariyyah Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn al-Ghaṭafānī who is one of the teachers of al-Bukhārī, from the third level of his teachers. I will discuss his biography in detail in the section dealing with the sources that al-Bukhārī depended upon in his *al-Ḍuʿāfāʾ*. He wrote ‘*al-Tārīkh*’ and it has reached us via the narration of Abū al-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥātim al-Dūrī. From amongst the books which relate the opinions of Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn are the following three book of *Tārīkh*: The first is *al-Tārīkh* via the report of ʿUthmān Ibn Saʿīd al-Dārimī; the second is *al-Tārīkh* via the report of Abū Khālīd Yazīd Ibn al-Haytham Ibn Ṭahmān al-Bādī al-Daqqāq; and the third is *al-Tārīkh* via the report of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khatlī. Al-Bukhārī also contributed to this field authoring his three famous works on *al-Tārīkh*. I shall discuss these works when I present al-Bukhārī’s biography.

Also written in this period (Al-ʿUmarī, 1984:76) were works dealing with the *Ṭabaqāt* (eras) of the *Ḥadīth* narrators. Muḥammad Ibn Saʿd wrote his famous *al-*

Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā. Also written in this period were works dealing with *ʿIlal* and cognisance of narrators. Amongst those who wrote in this field were Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī who excelled in writing in many different disciplines to the point that he wrote two hundred works. He was also one of the teachers of al-Bukhārī and from the third level of his teachers. I will discuss his biography in detail in the section dealing with the sources that al-Bukhārī depended upon in his *al-Ḍuʿāfāʾ*.

Authorship became a matter of course for almost every scholar of *Ḥadīth*. Every author of the ‘Six *Ḥadīth* Books’ wrote books on the various disciplines of *Ḥadīth*, as was done by others as well, until all areas of the disciplines of *Ḥadīth* were covered and recorded in an independent work devoted to it. These various disciplines were called the ‘Disciplines of *Ḥadīth*.’ Also, during this period each subject area developed into a discipline in its own right, such as the discipline of the authentic *Ḥadīth*, the discipline of the *mursal Ḥadīth*, the discipline of *asmāʾ* (names) and *al-kunā* (nicknames) etc. The *Ḥadīth* scholars analysed the texts and chains of *Aḥādīth* in detail and terminologies gained currency for each type of *Ḥadīth*, as can be seen in al-Tirmidhī and other works.

However, this period did not see investigations into the underlying principles behind these disciplines and terminologies, relying instead upon their memories and their own knowledge of them. All we find in this respect is a small work, *al-ʿIlal al-Ṣaghīr*, by al-Tirmidhī. Even though this work is a sort of appendix to his work *al-Jāmiʿ*, the *Ḥadīth* scholars have viewed it as an independent monograph because of the numerous points of benefit it contains. It is a comprehensive book dealing with

important issues of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, the rankings of narrators, the mannerisms of acquiring and narrating *Aḥādīth*, narrating by meaning, the *mursal Ḥadīth*, defining the *ḥasan* (sound) *Ḥadīth*, and defining and explaining the *gharīb* (strange) *Ḥadīth*.

In short, I argue that an era having such features would undoubtedly have an effect on al-Bukhārī, who was a student of these *Ḥadīth* scholars who graced this period with all these disciplines. They inculcated in him the desire to share in these efforts and to contribute towards some of these disciplines, especially since he thought that some of their works fell short of the mark. He therefore wrote many books, and was the first to write a book which was called ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’ placing many stringent conditions for accepting a *Ḥadīth* therein. His chapter headings combined both chapters dealing with faith and jurisprudence and this method of writing became known as *al-Jāmiʿ*. The remaining authors of the six books of *Sunan* wrote their works in accordance to jurisprudence and did not restrict themselves to recording only authentic *Aḥādīth*. In this way the legacy of al-Bukhārī, in stipulating the selection of only the authentic narrations, was a great service to the *Sunnah* with regards to what was written relating to the narration of *Ḥadīth* and the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*. After al-Bukhārī and Muslim, in terms of restricting works only to *ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth*, we find in the fourth century *hijrī* that this method was adopted by Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Khuzaymah and Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (al-Zahrānī, 1992:145).

Travel in Search of Knowledge

This is the third salient feature of the intellectual life of the third century *hijrī*, during the lifetime of Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. The number of scholars who travelled through the land in search of knowledge increased during this period. At that time, the method of study was for a student to study with the scholars of his native land, and learn the *Aḥādīth* with *ʿawālī* (those *Aḥādīth* which have short chains of narration) chains. They would then travel to other lands where other scholars resided to learn the *Aḥādīth* that they possessed. This methodology has been called ‘Travelling in Search of *Ḥadīth*’ and was considered a necessity for the scholars of *Ḥadīth*, and an integral part of their education. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (2002:246), while describing the method of learning of the scholars of *Ḥadīth*, “If one has finished learning the *ʿawālī* and important narrations of his own land, then the next step is to travel to other lands.” This methodology did not stop at just encouraging travel, rather it criticised those who did not travel to other lands for study. Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn (Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, 2002:246) said, “There are four with whom you shall never find guidance: the street watchmen, the announcer for a Judge, the son of a *Ḥadīth* scholar, and a man who studies in his home town, but does not travel abroad to study *Ḥadīth*.” The effect of travel upon a scholar is clearly apparent to any researcher in the field of *Ḥadīth*, as he will narrate from teachers in lands far from his own. Here I shall explain further this methodology of study, which became prevalent during the third century *hijrī*, from four angles. Firstly, the history of the phenomenon of travel in search of *Ḥadīth*; secondly, the purpose of travel in search of *Ḥadīth*; thirdly, the benefits of travel in search of *Ḥadīth*, according to the *Ḥadīth* scholars; and fourthly, the etiquettes of travel in search of *Ḥadīth*.

Firstly, the history of the phenomenon of travel in search of *Ḥadīth*

It is well known, to researchers that the importance that the Muslim scholars gave to travelling in search of knowledge was due to their considering it a religious activity. This is clear from the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet, as narrated by Abū Dāwūd (1973: vol. 4:57-58), “Whosoever takes a path seeking knowledge, Allāh makes easy for him the path to Paradise.” From this, there is no surprise that travelling in search of knowledge became an established practice from very early times. There are many narrations that indicate this, such as what has been narrated by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1975:125-126) by his chain from Naṣr Ibn Marzūq, Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Miṣrī, who said that he heard °Amr Ibn Abī Salamah say to al-Awzā°ī, “I have accompanied you for four days now, and I have heard from you only 30 *Ḥadīth*!” Al-Awzā°ī responded to him, “You consider 30 *Ḥadīth* in four days to be little?! Verily, Jābir Ibn °Abd Allāh purchased an animal and travelled to Egypt, and when he reached °Uqbah Ibn °Āmir, he asked him about a single *Ḥadīth*, and then returned home. Whereas you consider 30 *Ḥadīth* in four days to be little!” There are many other narrations to this effect, and details of these evidence can be obtained from the book of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī “*Al-Riḥlah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥadīth* (Travelling in Search of *Ḥadīth*).” It is interesting that despite these clear evidence, Goldziher (°Atr, 1975:31) claims that travelling in search of *Ḥadīth* began much later in the time of the Umayyad, for political reasons, as has been mentioned and debated by Nūr al-Dīn °Itr (1975:32-36).

Secondly, the purpose of travelling in search of knowledge

Despite mentioning that travelling in search of knowledge was a religious act, that was performed by the scholars seeking reward from Allāh, there were also certain other purposes for which the *Ḥadīth* scholars travelled. I shall mention here some of

the more important of the other reasons, as an exhaustive study of all of them would require a separate thesis. Firstly, obtaining knowledge. Secondly, verification of *Ḥadīth*. Thirdly, *al-ʿUluw*¹⁴ in the chain of narration. Fourthly, the study of the level of trustworthiness of narrators. Fifthly, the gathering of the *Ḥadīth* scholars to discuss the *ʿIlal* (sources of weakness) in narrations and narrators. Appendix L (see p 299) contains details of these points.

Thirdly, the benefits of travel in search of knowledge.

During my study of the biographies of the narrators in the third century *hijrī*, particularly that of Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī and his teachers, it seems that he obtained many benefits from his travels, and many of them are general to anyone who travels through the land. Among these benefits are consolidation of the knowledge that he already had, spreading the knowledge that he obtained, development of his character and morals, and developing new relationships and friendships.

Finally, the etiquette of travelling in search of knowledge.

The scholars of *Ḥadīth* adopted certain methods and ways in their travels in search of knowledge, which later became known as the ‘etiquettes of travel’. If a student followed these etiquettes, then it became easier for him to attain his objectives in travelling. During my study I have been able to identify some of these etiquettes, which I shall mention here. Firstly, that one studies with the scholars of ones own land before travelling abroad. Secondly, choosing a land that is well known for its scholars, or which is famous for a particular speciality. Thirdly, that one gives

¹⁴ - This refers to a narration having very few narrators in its chain, while still remaining *muttaṣil* (connected) (Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ; 1988:130-134).

importance to gaining as much knowledge as possible, rather than simply studying with as many teachers as possible. There are also a number of other etiquettes that are common to students who do not travel abroad, such as having sincerity to Allāh. The scholars have mentioned these etiquettes in the books of *Muṣṭalah al-Ḥadīth* (foundations of the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*) in the chapter on ‘Etiquettes of the *Ḥadīth* Scholar.’ The books of Ibn Ḥajar (1992:208), Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (2002:236-243) contain details of these etiquettes.

In short, I have found that the increase in the extent of travel of the scholars of the third century in search of knowledge led to scholars of the fourth century, such as al-Rāmahurmuzī, to enumerate in his book ‘*al-Muḥaddith al-Fāṣil*’ (1971:216) a list of all *Ḥadīth* scholars who travelled to the various towns. He started by listing those who travelled to the largest number of different lands, and then mentioned those who travelled to only one particular area. These towns were the centres of learning that I have listed above. In fact, I would argue that this characteristic is from the most important characteristics of the intellectual life of the third century. If it were not for these travels undertaken by the scholars, a narrow-mindedness would have developed amongst them within each area. Also, if the *Ḥadīth* scholars had described the geography, culture and social condition of the lands they travelled through we would have obtained a truly magnificent portrait of those times, but they did not as they were only concerned with the knowledge which was the only object of their pursuit.

Conclusion

After this study of the period during which al-Bukhārī lived, I can confidently say that this was a period of positive development and innovation – meaning by this that

during this period many disciplines and matters arose that were previously unknown or which had not been widespread during previous centuries.

I have explained in this chapter how the recording of Prophetic *Ḥadīth* began during this period, and how the scholars used different methods in writing their books on *Ḥadīth*. Thus, in this period appear the *Masānīd*, the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, the *Jawāmi*^c (singular. *Jāmi*^c) and the *Sunan*. Also, during this period the Jurists, the grammarians and scholars of other disciplines rose to prominence.

These developments took place in various parts of the Muslim domain, and hence a number of centres of learning developed in different areas of the Abbasid empire. I have outlined the most famous of these centres in this chapter. Some of these centres became well known for a particular branch of knowledge, such as grammar or *fiqh* (jurisprudence), while others became well known for a broad range of disciplines. Once all of these centres had become established, another new practise became widespread, namely travelling in search of knowledge, particularly the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. However, in reality this was not something new – rather it was a revival of a practise that had been established by the Companions.

The Muslim scholars have commented at length on why this period is considered special, each from his own viewpoint. Thus, the scholars of jurisprudence comment from a legal view point, while the grammarians comment from a linguistic angle. However, I would lean towards the judgment of al-Dhahabī, despite being a *Ḥadīth* scholar, that this period was the age of *Ḥadīth*. This is firstly because al-Dhahabī was also a historian, and secondly because we find in this age circles of *Ḥadīth* with up to

10,000 students, which is a clear sign of the great importance given to this discipline during this age.

Another reason for describing this period as a period of development and innovation is that we find that during this century there appeared over two hundred jurists of repute, and in its latter half many of the most well known scholars of *fiqh*. There also appeared the methodology of the *Ahl al-Ra'y*, those who concentrated on matters of *fiqh* without sufficient emphasis on *Ḥadīth*. Also, in this period began the practise of *taqlīd* – following a jurist without sufficient concern for his evidence. Also, there appeared a number of the main proponents and leaders of the sects such as the *Mu'tazilah*, *Shī'ah*, *Murji'ah*, *Qadariyyah* and *Khawārij*. Lastly, during this period began a number of tribulations such as revolts against the Muslim rulers, the most important of which during al-Bukhārī's time was the revolt of the *Kharmiyyah*.

Chapter Four

The Life of the Author in Focus

Introduction

Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī has always been held in high esteem by Muslims, and given a special rank amongst scholars and researchers, both past and present, due to his academic excellence and the respect shown to him by his students, peers and even his teachers. This is why the scholars after him took great care in preserving the details of his life, and the secrets of his success. Many contemporary, and past, scholars have written biography of al-Bukhārī exclusively, as well as general works which include al-Bukhārī's biography. From my own research, perhaps the best biography of al-Bukhārī is that written by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī within his monumental work '*Tārīkh Baghdad*' (1997:5-33). In this chapter I shall endeavour to study al-Bukhārī's life, starting with his full name and genealogy, his birth, teachers in all the lands that he visited, his students, his academic status, and finally his death.

His name, title and genealogy

His full name was Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mughīrah Ibn Bardizbah al-Juʿfī al-Bukhārī; his nickname was Abū ʿAbd Allāh. This was how al-Bukhārī himself quoted his name when writing his father's biography in '*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*' (1986b: vol. 1:342), except that he did not mention his third ancestor 'Bardizbah'. Perhaps because Bardizbah died a Magian, as quoted by Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Saʿdān (al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:11). His father was Ismāʿīl Abū al-Ḥasan, who was from amongst the *Ḥadīth* scholars who gave special importance to the chains of narration of *al-Aḥādīth*; he heard narrations from Mālik Ibn Anas and saw Ḥammād Ibn Zayd (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 12:447). His grandfather al-Mughīrah, was the first to accept Islam from the ancestors of al-Bukhārī; he accepted Islam at the hands of al-Yamān al-Juʿfī who was the guardian of *Bukhārā*. It was due

to his part in their acceptance of Islam that al-Bukharī carries his name; not because he freed him as a slave (al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:5-6). As for the name ‘Bardizbah’, it is a Persian name which means ‘farmer’. As for ‘al-Bukhārī’, this was due to his birthplace *Bukhārā*.

His birth

Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī was born on Friday after the Friday prayers on the 13th Shawwāl in the year 194 AH (al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:6), which corresponds to 19th July 810 CE. He was born in the city of *Bukhārā*, which was also the birthplace of his family and the country his name refers to. The Muslim historians and geographers define the land of *Bukhārā* to be that which is beyond the river (meaning the river *Jayḥūn*), (al-Ḥamawī, 1995: vol. 1:353). In modern times however, *Bukhārā* is found in Uzbekistan which used to be one of the Muslim countries that formed the Soviet Union, but found independence at its fall. The capital of Uzbekistan today is Tashkent.

His life

Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī was born to a household that greatly affected him and gave him a thirst for knowledge. His father (al-Bukhārī, 1986b: vol. 1:342-343), Abū al-Ḥasan Ismāʿīl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mughīrah al-Juʿfī was a scholar and loved seeking knowledge dearly. In his journey to Makkah, for the pilgrimage, he met with many of the great *Ḥadīth* scholars of his time, among them Ḥammād Ibn Zayd in Basra, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak in *Mary* and Mālik Ibn Anas in Madinah. His Mother (al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:11) was well known for her goodness and worship, and her supplications used to be answered. She saw in a dream that the

prophet Ibrāhīm came to her and said “O woman, verily Allāh has returned to your son his sight due to your frequent supplications.” When she awoke she did indeed find that her son’s sight had returned. Her husband, Ismā‘īl died when Muḥammad was young, so he grew up an orphan with his mother.

Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī describes his first steps in seeking knowledge saying (al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:7), “I was inspired to memorise *Ḥadīth* while I was still in the *Qur’ān* school.” Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥātim asked him “How old were you then?” He replied, “Ten years of age, or maybe even less. I left *Qur’ān* school when I reached ten and began to accompany al-Dākhilī and other *Ḥadīth* scholars. One day, while reciting *Aḥādīth* to the people, he said, ‘On the authority of Abī al-Zubair on the authority of Ibrāhīm’. I said to him, ‘O father of so and so Abī al-Zubair never related from Ibrāhīm’. So he scolded me. I said to him, ‘Go back to your sources if you have them’. He returned to his sources and looked at them then returned and said to me, ‘What is the correct chain then, young man?’ I said, ‘It is al-Zubair Ibn Ad‘ī on the authority of Ibrāhīm’. So he took my pen from me and corrected his book saying, ‘You have spoken truthfully’.” Some of al-Bukhārī’s Companions asked him, “How old were you when you replied to him?” He replied, “I was 11 years of age; when I began my sixteenth year I memorized the books of Ibn al-Mubārak and Wakī‘ and I comprehended the opinions of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ra’ī* of the *Ḥanafī madhhab*.” All of this occurred before he reached the age of 16 while he was still in *Bukhārā*. He describes his own life after the age of 16 saying:

Then I left for pilgrimage to Makkah with my mother and brother. After the pilgrimage, my brother returned with my mother and I stayed behind to study *Ḥadīth*. When I reached 18 years of age I began to compile works on the rulings and sayings of the *Ṣaḥābah* and *Tābi‘īn*. Those were the days of ‘Ubaid Allāh Ibn Mūsā. I compiled the book ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*’ beside the grave of the Prophet (Al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:11; Ibn Ḥajar, 1986:502).

The *Ḥadīth* scholars used to give great importance to traveling for the purpose of seeking knowledge and hearing *Ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī was no different, and traveled many times during his life to various places, including Makkah, Madinah, Baghdad and Basra, in order to hear *Ḥadīth*.

His teachers

Al-Bukhārī was a scholar who had many teachers; in fact he wrote on the authority of 1080 teachers. The scholars have written great works purely on teachers of al-Bukhārī. Ibn ʿAdī compiled a book comprising only those teachers of al-Bukhārī who appear in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*; Ibn Mandh compiled a book on all the teachers of al-Bukhārī. Due to the great number of his teachers, the likes of al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 12:395-396) and Ibn Ḥajar (1986:503) divided his teachers into five levels. The first level being those of his teachers who were from the *tabiʿīn* (the second generation after the Prophet Muḥammed). The second level being those from the time of the *tabiʿīn*, but never actually met them. The third level comprises those who studied with the elders of those who followed the *tabiʿīn*. The fourth level comprises his contemporaries. The fifth level comprises those who were considered his students. I shall now examine the travels of al-Bukhārī to the many cities he visited in his quest for knowledge, and I shall also detail some of the scholars he met in those cities.

Bukhārā

The first place Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī began his quest for knowledge was his home town of *Bukhārā*. His father (Ibn Ḥajar, 1986b:501-502), Abū al-Ḥasan Ismāʿīl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mughīrah al-Juʿfī, was the first of his teachers, even though he was not considered one of the great scholars. Despite this fact, al-

Bukhārī was greatly affected by him. This was due to the fact that his father loved knowledge and held scholars in high esteem. His father met and heard *Ḥadīth* from Mālik Ibn Anas, the *imām* (main scholar) of Madinah, °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak in *Mary* and Ḥammād Ibn Zaid in Basra. It was these meetings that affected al-Bukhārī and established a beginning in his quest for knowledge. At this time it was traditional for a person to send his children to a local religious school where the teacher instructing them in the recitation of the *Qurʾān* would also hear *Ḥadīth* from him. Al-Bukhārī was one of those sent to such a school (al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:7) and there he learned from various scholars, among them al-Dākhilī and Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad Ibn Ḥafṣ while he was still young. I have already described the famous incident which occurred between al-Bukhārī and al-Dākhilī (see page 102).

The most famous teacher al-Bukhārī studied with in his adolescence was actually a relation of his, Abū Ja°far °Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh al-Ju°fi al-Bukhārī (d. 229 AH / 843 CE) who was better known as al-Musnadī. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 16:59) explained one of the reasons behind his name, “He was called al-Musnadī, because he was constantly seeking the *musnadāt* (those *Aḥādīth* with a complete chain to the Prophet Muḥammad) and he used to reject *marāsīl* and *maqāfi°* (those *aḥādīth* that do not have a complete chain to the Prophet Muḥammad).” Al-Ḥākim (Ibn Ḥajar; 1984: vol. 6:10) explained another reason by saying, “He was called al-Musnadī because he was the first person from *bilād mā warā° al-nahar* to compile a book ordered by the Companions who narrated the *Ḥadīth* contained therein. He was the leader of the scholars in his town.” It seems clear to me that al-Bukhārī was greatly affected by his studies with this great scholar who was from his own town and paid great attention to the details of

knowledge in three ways. Firstly, al-Musnadī only accepted *masānīd* and reject the *marāsīl* and *maqāṭīʿ*. This was one of the reasons why al-Bukhārī compiled his famous work '*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*'. Even though there were many reasons that contributed to this compilation, it seems clear to me that the affect al-Musnadī had on him from the very beginning was profound. Secondly, al-Musnadī was one of the scholars who held fast to the creed of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* at a time when many different sects had appeared (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 16:59). Al-Bukhārī followed his teacher in this regard as I have previously explained. Thirdly, when al-Bukhārī saw the vast knowledge that al-Musnadī had acquired and the many authentic *Ḥadīth* he had learnt through his travels, he also felt the urge to travel and seek knowledge.

After al-Bukhārī had acquired all the knowledge, and learnt all the *Aḥādīth* in his home town, he decided to travel to adjoining lands in search of more. There are many reasons for al-Bukhārī to leave his home town, among the most important of these is to imitate the scholars that preceded him. He also wanted to solidify his knowledge of *Ḥadīth* and other disciplines. A person will no doubt be affected by his upbringing and his birth place, but it is only when one travels to other lands and broadens his horizons that he is exposed to situations and problems that he would not have otherwise experienced. This leads to a broader understanding of issues and a wider comprehension and study of new opinions regarding these issues. Ibn Khuldūn explains these benefits of travel in his work '*al-muqaddimah*' (1930:53).

Balkh

Thus al-Bukhārī began his journey in search of knowledge. He left *Bukhārā* and travelled to *Balkh*, one of the closest towns to *Bukhārā* in which al-Bukhārī had studied. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of the start of his journey, but I can surmise that it began with his journey for *Hajj* which was in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. While researching into al-Bukhārī's teachers I have found five to be from *Balkh*. I shall examine the biography of one of them here, and details of the remainder are found in appendix M (see p 303). Abū Rajā' Qutaybah Ibn Sa'īd al-Thaqafī al-Baghlānī (d. 240 AH / 854 CE). He was one of the most famous of al-Bukhārī's teachers, and al-Bukhārī narrated many *Aḥādīth* from him. Qutaybah used to travel much. For this reason I am unsure as to whether al-Bukhārī studied with him in Qutaybah's home town of *Balkh*, in Baghdad or in his second home town of *Baghlān*. Qutaybah lived in *Baghlān* during the time he was studying with Mālik Ibn Anas. During one of these lessons Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf entered. Qutaybah stood up and accused him of being a *murjī* (a follower of the *Murji'ah*), whereupon Mālik expelled Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf from the lesson. Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf was angered by this, and since he held a great station in *Balkh*, upon Qutaybah's return, he opposed him and expelled him from *Balkh*. Qutaybah then returned to *Baghlān*. This shows how strong Qutaybah was against the *murji'ah* and al-Bukhārī adopted this stance from him.

Mary

After his stay in *Balkh*, al-Bukhārī travelled to *Mary* in search of *Ḥadīth*. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of the start of his journey. In researching into al-Bukhārī's teachers I have found six of his teachers who were from *Mary*. I shall

examine one of them here, and details of the remainder are in appendix M (see p 305) for further details. Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Makhlad Ibn Rāhawayh al-Ḥanzalī (d. 238 AH / 852 CE). He was one of the scholars that al-Bukhārī studied under in *Mary* even though Ishāq visited *Naysabur* for a while and travelled to Iraq and many other towns. So it may be that al-Bukhārī additionally studied with him in these places. Ishāq was an *imām* in *Ḥadīth*, theology and *fiqh* in *Khurasān* primarily, and was also well known in other places. Nuʿaym Ibn Ḥammād said of him in this regard, “If you see a person from *Khurasān* criticising Ishāq Ibn Rāhawayh then regard him as not being upon the *Sunnah*.” He was one of the scholars whom al-Bukhārī was greatly affected by, and also benefited from greatly, in matters of Muslim knowledge and *Sunnah*. I shall revisit his biography when detailing the sources that al-Bukhārī depended upon when compiling his book *al-Duʿafāʾ*.

Nisābūr

I have previously discussed this town and have mentioned that it comprises one of the greatest districts of *Khurāsān* which al-Bukhārī visited during his journey in search of knowledge. I have not been able to determine exactly when he entered this town, but it is most likely that the first time he entered it was on his journey for *Hajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. *Nisābūr* was famous for its *ʿawālī* chains of *Ḥadīth* and it was for this reason that al-Bukhārī was eager to travel to it and learn from its scholars. My research has led me to three of his teachers in *Nisābūr*, and I shall examine one of them here. Appendix M (see p 303) contains details of the remainder. Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Bakr Ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Tamīmī al-Naysābūrī (d. 226 AH / 840 CE). Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim mentions a very detailed biography of his life and works in his book *ʿTārīkh Nisābūrʾ*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-

Dhahabī has summarised this biography in his book ‘*Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*’ (1992: vol. 10:512). I shall quote two statements from his biography. The first is a quote from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 32:34) praising Abū Zakariyyā by saying, “*Khurasān* did not produce a *Ḥadīth* scholar after Ibn al-Mubārak similar to the likes of Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā.” The second is the quote of Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (1982: vol. 9:262) praising him by saying, “He was one of the great leaders of his time in knowledge, piety, character, worship of Allāh and precision in *Ḥadīth*.” It was the like of these statements that led al-Bukhārī to seek out and study with Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā. Al-Bukhārī narrates from him in his collection *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* as has been mentioned by Abū Naṣr al-Kalābādhī (1987: vol. 2:802) in three chapters ‘*Kitāb al-Wakālah*’, ‘*Kitāb al-Aḥkām*’ and ‘*Tafsīr Sūrah Āl-‘Imrān*’. Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā is considered to be of the first level of al-Bukhārī’s teachers, those who heard *Ḥadīth* from the most trustworthy of the *tābi‘īn*. I am surprised by Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 24:433) who claimed he would mention all of the teachers and students of the narrators for whom he wrote a biography, yet he failed to mention Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā as one of al-Bukhārī’s teachers.

Al-Rayy

This city was one of the greatest cities close to the district of *Khurasān*, which al-Bukhārī visited to seek knowledge. I was unable to ascertain the number of times he visited the city. However it seems certain that the first time he visited this city was with his mother and brother on their way to perform the *Ḥajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. He learnt and heard *Ḥadīth* from the scholars of *al-Rayy*. My research shows that al-Bukhārī learnt from three scholars from this city. It may in fact be the case that he studied with them outside the city, however what concerns me here is

that they are all originally from *al-Rayy*. I will examine here one of them here, and details of the remainder are in appendix M (see p 303). Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs Ibn al-Mundhir al-Ḥanzalī al-Rāzī. (d. 275 AH / 888 CE). Abū Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī reports (1992: vol. 24:385) that Yūnus °Abd al-A°lā said, “Abū Zur°ah and Abū Ḥātim are the scholars of *Khurāsān*. Al-Mizzī also mentions that Abū al-Qāsim al-Lālakā°ī says that “he (Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs) was the knowledgeable *imām* in *Ḥadīth*, a perfectionist and trustworthy in his narrations.” His biography as mentioned by his son in the introduction of the book *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta°dīl* is full of his keenness for knowledge and his noble reputation in *al-Rayy*. Al-Bukhārī was very eager to hear from him. He narrates *Ḥadīth* from him in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* in the chapter *al-Muḥṣir* (the one who stipulates a condition for non-completion of *Ḥajj* or °*Umrah*). He was considered to be from the fourth level of al-Bukhārī’s teachers, those who were peers of al-Bukhārī. The fourth of his teachers in *al-Rayy* was Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭālib and he has already been mentioned as a teacher of his in the section for *Mary*.

Makkah

Aḥmed Ibn °Alī Ibn Ḥajar (1986:502) mentions that al-Bukhārī said about himself that he was no more than 16 when he went for *Ḥajj* with his mother and brother, Aḥmed. Al-Bukhārī remained in Makkah in pursuit of knowledge whilst his brother and mother returned to *Bukhārā*. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:502) also mentions on the authority of Sahl Ibn al-Sarī that al-Bukhārī said “I stayed in *Ḥijāz* for six years.” He remained there for six years due to the fact that he learnt from many of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* who lived there, or had come there from the different lands for *Ḥajj* or °*Umrah*. Here I shall examine one of his teachers in Makkah, and details of others are in appendix M (see p 303). Abū Bakr °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn °Isā al-Ḥumaidī al-Makkī (d.

220 AH / 834 CE) author of ‘*al-Musnad*’. Abū Muḥammad °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1953: vol. 5:57) reported that his father Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs al-Rāzī said, “the most reliable of narrators from Ibn °Uyaynah is al-Ḥumaidī and he is the leader of the narrators from Ibn °Uyaynah, he is the trustworthy *imām*.” For these reasons al-Bukhārī starves to learn from him, as he was the most knowledgeable amongst the narrators from Ibn °Uyaynah. Muḥammad Ibn Ismā°īl al-Bukhārī spent 19 years learning from him as has been mentioned by Abū °Abd Allāh al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 10:617). Indeed, al-Bukhārī narrates the very first *Ḥadīth* in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* from him. °Abd Allāh Ibn Zubayr al-Ḥumaidī is considered to be amongst the third level of al-Bukhārī’s teachers, namely those who did not meet the *tābi°īn* but studied with the senior level of the followers of the *tābi°īn*.

Madinah

Muḥammad Ibn Ismā°īl al-Bukhārī spent a period of his time in Madinah. He was at that time a young man of 18 years, as he narrates about himself. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:502) mentions that al-Bukhārī wrote two books when he was in Madinah and he said about himself, “I wrote the book ‘*Qaḍāyā al-Ṣaḥābah wa al-Tābi°īn*’ (The Lives of the Companions and Successors) and then wrote the book ‘*al-Tārīkh*’ (meaning *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*) in Madinah by the grave of the Prophet. I wrote it in the nights of moonlight.” Then he said “There is hardly a narrator I have listed in ‘*al-Tārīkh*’ except that I have an incident to quote about him. However, I have refrained from listing them all, as I disliked lengthening the book.” One of the important reasons why al-Bukhārī desired to learn in Madinah was the presence of the students of Mālik Ibn Anas. By hearing *Ḥadīth* from them he achieved the highest level of narrators from Mālik Ibn Anas. After my research and study, I have come across

seven teachers of al-Bukhārī in Madinah from whom he took knowledge and *Ḥadīth*. Here I shall examine one of them, and details of the rest are in appendix M (see p 303).

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abū Uwais al-Madanī Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Uwais Ibn Mālik Ibn Abū ʿĀmir al-Aṣḥabī (d. 226 AH / 840 CE). He was from amongst the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in Madinah, from whom al-Bukhārī narrated greatly. Abū Aḥmed Ibn ʿAdī said (1997: vol. 1:527), “Al-Bukhārī narrated from him greatly.” Some of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* said (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 3:129), “Al-Bukhārī narrated close to 200 *Ḥadīth* from him, and Muslim approximately 20 *Ḥadīth*.” However, without doubt this refers to other than his book *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* and this can be established by two reasons. Firstly, due to some disparagement made against him, which has been classified as weak by al-Nasāʾī (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 3:128). The second reason is because Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (1986:410) studied the way of al-Bukhārī in extracting *Ḥadīth* from Ibn Abū Uwais, and said, “Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both accepted his narrations, except that they did not narrate a great number of his *Ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī narrated only two *Ḥadīth* from him for which there are no other chains of narration.” Despite the disparagement made against him, al-Bukhārī benefited from him greatly, and remained in his company continuously. Their relationship was so close, that, as Ibn Ḥajar mentions (1986: 410), Ibn Abī Uwais gave al-Bukhārī his original papers, and allowed him to narrate from them whatever he wished, and to mark out that which he considered to be of high standard, and to leave that which he did not.

The Lands of *al-Shām*

I have previously discussed the lands of *al-Shām* and have mentioned that al-Bukhārī visited the region during his journey in search of knowledge. I have not been able to determine exactly when he entered this region, but it is most likely that the first time he entered it was on his journey for *Ḥajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. The most important city in *al-Shām*, by far, is Damascus. It was the capital of the Caliphate during the Umayyad era, and hence became a major centre of learning, where scholars of many different disciplines gathered. Al-Bukhārī travelled to *al-Shām* twice, as has been narrated from him by Sahl Ibn al-Sarī (Ibn Ḥajar, 1986:502). I have found, during my research, the biographies of ten al-Bukhārī's teachers from *al-Shām*, and I shall examine one of them here. Details of the others are in appendix M (see p 303).

Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Wāqid al-Faryābī al-Ḍabbī (d. 212 AH / 827 CE). He was from amongst the greatest and most famous of al-Bukhārī's teachers in *al-Shām*. Al-Bukhārī himself says about him (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 27:58), and his manner indicates his happiness at having been fortunate enough to study under him before his death, “We met Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal while travelling from *Ḥims*, and he was journeying towards it to meet Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf; but he was too late and Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf died before he could reach him.” Al-Bukhārī was very eager to study with him as he was a specialist in narrations from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Al-Bukhārī (Ibn °Adī, 1997: vol. 7:58) said, “He was from amongst the best of the people of his time in narrating from Sufyān.” Also, al-Bukhārī was affected by Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf in his severity against the *Murji'ah*, and he says (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 27:58) “I saw a group of people enter upon Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf al-

Faryābī, who was then informed that they were *Murji'ah*. So he immediately ordered that they be expelled, whereupon they repented and returned to the way of *Ahl al-Sunnah*.”

Egypt

It is also one of the most famous places which al-Bukhārī visited during his quest for knowledge. He visited Egypt twice, as has been quoted by Sahl Ibn al-Sarī (Ibn Ḥajar; 1986:502). There is no doubt that the first time he visited Egypt was after he performed *Ḥajj* with his mother and brother, in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. He studied therein and learned from some of the great scholars of Egypt. My research has led me to five biographies of al-Bukhārī's Egyptian teachers. Although it is possible that al-Bukhārī studied with them outside of Egypt, what is significant here is that they were of Egyptian origin or settled there. Here I shall examine one of them, and details of the remainder are in appendix M (see p 303). Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf al-Tinnīsī al-Kilā°ī al-Miṣrī, who died in the year 218 AH / 833 CE. He was originally from Damascus, but he travelled to and later settled in *Tinnīs* (a town in Egypt). He was from among the great students of Mālik Ibn Anas. In fact, °Abd Allāh was the most trustworthy narrator of Mālik's book *al-Muwatṭā*. Yaḥyā Ibn Ma°īn (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 16:335) said, “There is no-one on the face of the earth (in the third century *hijrī*) who is more trustworthy in narrating the book *al-Muwatṭā* than °Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf al-Tinnīsī”. It was due to this that al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him. Al-Bukhārī said of him, “He is the most precise of the narrators of *al-Shām*.” Al-Bukhārī attributed him to *al-Shām* because he was originally from there, although it is possible that al-Bukhārī actually studied with him in *al-Shām*, or perhaps even Madinah, as °Abd Allāh studied with Mālik there. Ibn

°Adī (1997: vol. 5:342) said, “Even though al-Bukhārī gathered together the accounts of many narrators, he depended, for the most part, on °Abd Allāh for the narrations of Mālik. *Al-Kāmil* (1994: vol. 16:333-336) provides further details.

Iraq

Baghdad, Kufa and Basra are some of the most famous cities which al-Bukhārī visited in Iraq during his quest for knowledge. There is no doubt that al-Bukhārī visited Iraq on his way to perform the *Ḥajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. However, al-Bukhārī returned to Iraq after having completed his *Ḥajj*. Sahl Ibn al-Sarī (Ibn Ḥajar; 1986:502) quotes al-Bukhārī saying of himself, “I visited Basra four times. As for Kufa and Baghdad, I am unable to count how many times I have visited them.” My research has led me to five biographies of his Iraqi teachers. Although it is possible that al-Bukhārī studied with them outside of Iraq, what is significant here is that they were of Iraqi origin or settled in Iraq. I shall examine here one of his teachers from each of the three cities mentioned above, and details of the remainder are in appendix M (see p 303).

In Baghdad, Abū °Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal Ibn Hilāl al-Shaybānī al-Marwazī al-Baghdādī (d. 241 AH / 855 CE) His mother left Mary while pregnant with him, and he was then born in Baghdad, where he subsequently lived till his death. He travelled to the most famous centres of learning of the third century, in search of knowledge. He became one of the most well-known scholars of *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh* of the third century. For this reason, al-Bukhārī was very particular about studying with him and learning *Ḥadīth* from him. Abū Bakr al-Athram said:

One day we were with Abū °Ubaid, discussing an issue, and someone asked about an opinion mentioned by al-Athram, ‘Whose opinion is that?’ So I replied, ‘The one who

has no one greater than him, not in the East nor the West – Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal’ To this Abū ‘Uбайд said, ‘He has spoken the truth’ (Mizzī, 1994: vol. 1:454).

Also, Naṣr Ibn ‘Alī said, “Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal was the best of the people of his time.” (Mizzī, 1994: vol. 1:455). Al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 1:470) mentioned that the virtues of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal are many, and if one attempted to list them all it would require a book in itself.

In Kufa, Abū Nu‘aym al-Faḍl Ibn Dukayn al-Mulla‘ī al-Aḥwal al-Kūfī (d. 218 AH / 833 CE). ‘Dukayn’ is his title, but it has become famous as his name. Al-Bukhārī narrated a great deal from him, and he is from the elders of al-Bukhārī’s teachers. He was known to be a specialist in the *Ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 10:156). Due to this al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him. I have already mentioned the incident that occurred between him and Yaḥyā Ibn Ma‘īn, which indicates the strength of his memory and his status amongst the *Ḥadīth* scholars. Further detail can be found in the books of al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 23:197–220) and al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 10:142–157).

In Basra, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ja‘far Ibn Najīḥ al-Sa‘dī, Ibn al-Madīnī al-Baṣrī (d. 234 AH / 848 CE). He authored many books, the most famous of which is his ‘*al-‘Ilal*’. Al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 11:60) has enumerated 26 of his books. He was amongst the most knowledgeable people of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, as has been mentioned by Ibn Mahdī (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 11:45). From the signs of his status was that when Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal wished to refer to him, he would use his *kunya* (nickname) rather than his actual name, as mentioned by Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 11:43). Further detail can be obtained from the books of al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 21:5–35) and al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 11:41-60).

His students

Many students took their knowledge from Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, in fact he had more than 100 students (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 24:434-437). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī (1997: vol. 2:20) mentions that al-Bukhārī's lessons were attended by upto 20000 students. Al-Bukhārī's student al-Firabrī (al-Baghḍādī, 1997: vol. 2:9) mentions that ninety students studied *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Bukhārī. It would appear to me that these students did not travel to al-Bukhārī in his native land to study *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* with him. Rather, these were his students who studied with him during his travels, some of which I have mentioned previously (see pages 103-115). Scholars of the likes of al-Bukhārī were always either engaged in learning or teaching others, and thus spent their lives in education, up to the time of their deaths. Hence, we find that amongst the teachers of al-Bukhārī are those who are also his students, and vice versa. In this section I will not enumerate the students of al-Bukhārī in the same manner as I detailed his teachers, as this would lengthen the thesis considerably without need. Hence I shall only mention two of his most famous students.

The first was Abū ʿIsā Muḥammad Ibn ʿIsā Ibn Saurah al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH / 892 CE) the author of the book '*al-Jāmiʿ*' in which he related many *Aḥādīth* on the authority of al-Bukhārī. Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 13:274) said about his book *al-Jāmiʿ*, "I compiled this book, then presented it to the scholars of *al-Ḥijāz*, Iraq and *Khurasān*, so they were pleased with it. So whosoever has this book in his house, it is as though the Prophet himself is present there." Al-Tirmidhī was one of the students that accompanied al-Bukhārī for a long period of time; he asked him about the status of many narrators of *Ḥadīth*, a number of which he compiled in his book '*al-ʿIlal al-Kabīr*' (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 26:250-252; al-

Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 13:270-277). Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim quoted ʿUmar Ibn ʿAllak as saying, “Al-Bukhārī died, and did not leave behind anyone of the likes of Abū ʿIsā - in knowledge, memorisation, and asceticism. He cried [from piety] to the extent that he turned blind” (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 13:270).

The second was Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Muslim al-Naisābūrī (d. 261 AH / 874 CE), the author of the book ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’, which is considered, along with al-Bukhārī’s *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, to be the most authentic book after the *Qurʾān*, by agreement of the scholars, as mentioned by al-Nawawī (1987: vol. 1:19-20). Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj was from amongst the greatest *Ḥadīth* scholars of the third century. He followed his teacher, al-Bukhārī, in the collection of and compilation of only the authentic *Ḥadīth*. He said himself about his book (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 12:568), “I presented my book to Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī, so whatever he indicated as having a defect I left out from the book. Whatever he said was authentic, without any defects, I left it in the book. If the scholars of *Ḥadīth* were to write the *Ḥadīth* for 200 years, then they would still need to return to my book.” Al-Dhahabī mentions (1992: vol. 12:573) that despite al-Bukhārī being Muslim’s teacher, he does not narrate a single *Ḥadīth* from al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In fact he even began his book by criticising those who laid the condition of meeting for those who narrated by method of ‘*ʿan*’, meaning by this al-Bukhārī and ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī.

His excellence as a scholar

This subject in itself could be expounded upon to such an extent that it could be a thesis in itself, due to the great position al-Bukhārī held. However, I will present his scholarly position from five angles. Firstly, his memorisation. One of the things that

showed his great status as a *Ḥadīth* scholar was his strong memorisation. He displayed his strength in this field as a small child. His method of memorisation was to repeatedly look at what he wished to memorise as Abū Jaʿfar al-Warrāq once asked him, “Is there some medicine a person may take to make his memory stronger?” Al-Bukhārī replied, “I do not know.” Then he came closer to me and said, “I do not know of anything more beneficial for memorisation than the burning desire that a man has for it and constantly looking at what you are trying to memorise.” Al-Bukhārī said of himself,

I never quote a *Ḥadīth* on the authority of the *Ṣaḥābah*, or the *Tābiʿīn* except that I know the birth and death of most of them and their places of abode. I do not know of a *Ḥadīth* from the *Ṣaḥābah* or the *Tābiʿīn* (meaning those *mawqūf Ḥadīth*), except that I have a source for it from the Book of Allāh or the *Sunnah* of His Prophet that I have memorised (Ibn Ḥajar, 1986:510).

Secondly, his method of taking knowledge from his teachers. Al-Bukhārī was distinguished in his eagerness in taking knowledge from his teachers. He says about himself,

When I wrote a *Ḥadīth*, I did not write like these people. When I quoted a *Ḥadīth* from a person, I asked him about his name, his nickname, his lineage and how he came to have such a *Ḥadīth*. This was if he was an intelligent person; if he was not I asked him to bring his written source. As for the others they did not care about what they wrote or how they wrote (Ibn Ḥajar, 1986:512).

Thirdly, the *Ḥadīth* scholars’ praise of him. The *Ḥadīth* scholars of his time, whether they be his teachers or his students, all praised al-Bukhārī to a great extent. This in itself is a testament to his high station and superiority as a scholar, to the extent that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī compiled a work comprising all those who had praised him and ordered it by the countries they came from. So he mentioned the praise of the people of Basra, then the people of Kufa and the *Ḥijāz*, then those from Baghdad, then those from *Rāz*, then those from *Khurasān* and beyond The River. The greatest of those who praised him was Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal saying, “Memorisation (of *Ḥadīth*)

stops at four people” and he mentioned al-Bukhārī. He also said, “*Khurāsān* has not produced the likes of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl before”. His teacher Ishāq Ibn Rāhawayh, said to his Companions, “O gathering of people of *Ḥadīth*! Look to this young man and write your *Ḥadīth* from him, for even if he was present at the time of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī we would have been in need of his knowledge and understanding of *Ḥadīth*”. Faṭḥ Ibn Nūḥ al-Naisābūrī said, “I came to ‘Alī Ibn al-Madīnī and I saw Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl sitting to his right. Whenever he would quote a *Ḥadīth*, he would look to his right as though he revered him.”

Fourthly, his written works. Al-Bukhārī’s written works are the greatest testimony to his scholarship and superiority. A part from this book edited in this thesis, I have ascertained 33 works mentioned in his biographies from various sources or otherwise attributed to him. Details of this written works are in appendix N (see p 327).

His Death

Al-Bukhārī died on a Saturday night at the time of the *Ishā’* prayer (night prayer). It was the night of ‘*īd al-Fiṭr*’ in the year 256 AH / 870 CE. He was buried after the noon prayer on the day of ‘*īd al-Fiṭr*’. He died 13 days short of turning 62 (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:33, al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol.12:468). Al-Bukhārī had returned to his place of birth and settled there after a great journey seeking knowledge, but he could not remain there long. The *Amīr* (leader) of his country requested of al-Bukhārī that he bring to him his books ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’ and ‘*al-Tārīkh*’ so that he may read them. Al-Bukhārī considered it unfit that knowledge should be brought to the *Amīr*, so he refused and instead requested the *Amīr* to come and attend his lessons that he held in his father’s house. He refused to give special treatment to

one person in lieu of another when it came to seeking knowledge. So difficulties arose between him and the *Amīr*, who then expelled him from the country. So al-Bukhārī left and travelled to one of the towns near Samarqand, where he eventually passed away (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:31-32). Ibn ʿAdī narrates that he heard ʿAbd al-Quddūs Ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Samarqandī say, “Al-Bukhārī came to Samarqand. One night I heard him supplicating after the night prayer, saying ‘O Allāh! The earth has become constricted upon me, so take me unto You.’ He did not complete a month after that before he died.” His grave is in a village named ‘*Bakhar Tank*’, now known as ‘*Khwājah Ṣāhib*’, which is about 30 kilometre from Samarqand (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 1997: vol. 2:6).



Map no 1. Uzbekistan, al-Bukhārī's country of birth (*Bukhārā*) and death (Samarqand)

Conclusion

After ending this lengthy biography of al-Bukhārī, from a description of teachers and students, to his actions in the academic field, I must conclude that I have not been able to do justice to this immense personality from all its angles. If the book “*Shamā’il al-Bukhārī*” of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Warrāq, who was al-Bukhārī’s close student and scribe, had been preserved, then perhaps we would have had a better description of this great scholar. However, I have not been able to locate any extant copy of this work, although al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 12:392) records that he came upon this book and narrated from it with a full *isnād*.

There are many facts about al-Bukhārī’s life that require research and investigation such as those matters which have to do with his personal life. For example, it is not known for sure whether al-Bukhārī married and whether he had any progeny. The scholars of the later periods differed on this issue, with some saying that he had children while others saying not, and still others denying that he married in the first place. I would conclude that he did indeed marry, as has been mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 12:451) in a long narration from Abū Jaʿfar al-Warrāq, the student of al-Bukhārī, who quoted al-Bukhārī as saying, “I have slave-girls and a wife, while you are celibate; hence I must give you half so that we may be equal in wealth and other than that.” As for whether he had children, then al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 12:451) and Ibn Ḥajar (1986:504) quotes that al-Bukhārī had a son named Aḥmad who used to look after his father’s material affairs.

There are also matters from his academic life that are in need of research and investigation, such as the conspiracies of his opponents against him. An example of

this is what is related by Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 9:46-47) in the biography of al-Bukhārī where he quotes Maslamah as saying, “al-Bukhārī was trustworthy, of a high status, a scholar of *Ḥadīth*, but he used to preach that the *Qurʾān* was created. He was chastised on this matter by the scholars of *Khurāsān*, and hence he fled and died in hiding.” Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 9:47) commented upon this by saying:

I have mentioned here this speech of Maslamah to make clear its falsehood. Firstly, al-Bukhārī has never been accused of preaching that the *Qurʾān* is created. Nor has it ever been narrated that he fled and died in hiding, and rather this clearly contradicts that which has been narrated regarding his passing away.

Thus, it is clear that some study of these conspiracies and why they were made against al-Bukhārī is needed. Also, how they increased, and what al-Bukhārī’s position was regarding them, and the position of his teachers and students. All of this will then shed further light upon the personality of al-Bukhārī himself.

Part Three:

The Manuscript

Chapter Five

The Work in focus

Introduction

°Abd al-Salām Hārūn (1989:42) argues regarding the methodology that the researchers have adopted in the edition of manuscripts, “The effort that is expended in the edition of any manuscript must include research from the following angles. Firstly, verification of the name of the manuscript. Secondly, verification of the name of the author. Thirdly, verification of the ascription of the manuscript to the author. Lastly, edition of the text of the manuscript.”

The methodology that Hārūn advises here has been used by many researchers in edition of manuscripts. However, regarding point number three above, this ascription must be made through strong evidence such that no substantial doubt remains regarding its authorship. I agree that this verification is of the greatest importance, but despite this there are some cases where the use of this method may be pointless and a mere waste of time. In such circumstances, I would venture to label such a procedure as “*al-Taraf al-°ilmī* (academic extravagance).” For instance if the manuscript is a famous work of a well-known author, such as Muḥammad Ibn Ismā°īl al-Bukhārī’s “*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*.” This manuscript has clearly been famous in academic circles from the time of its author, to the present, such that there can be no doubt regarding its ascription to al-Bukhārī. Even if the names of the manuscript vary, due to some of the scholars using a short form, or some using a different famous name for it, or some using its full name, then none of this brings any need to verify the authorship. Thus, we obtain a number of names for a single manuscript, but this can in no way be a cause for doubt in the authorship of the manuscript. Indeed, the overwhelming familiarity of a particular manuscript amongst the scholars

of that discipline is from the strongest evidences for establishing the authorship of a work.

Adopting the methodology outlined by Hārūn, in this chapter I shall deal with the verification of the ascription of the manuscript of *al-Duʿafāʾ* to al-Bukhārī, then an examination of the chain of narration of the manuscript, and also a verification of the name of the manuscript. Then, I shall provide a detailed description of the five different versions of the manuscript that I have used in this study. I shall also examine the most famous printed version of the manuscript, and shall explain why this version is not acceptable from an academic perspective. Lastly, I shall outline the academic value of *al-Duʿafāʾ* in the field of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.

Verification of the ascription of the manuscript *al-Duʿafāʾ* to al-Bukhārī

The manuscript of *al-Duʿafāʾ* was most certainly written by al-Bukhārī, in fact it is among his most famous works. There are a number of proofs for this. Firstly, its chain of narration. Three of his students narrated it from him, namely Abū Bashr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥammād al-Dūlābī, Abū Jaʿfar Shaykh Ibn Saʿīd and Ādam Ibn Mūsā al-Khuwārī. The manuscript became famous through the transmission of Ādam Ibn Mūsā al-Khuwārī, and all the copies we have today are from his transmission, as is explained in the edited version of the text. Secondly, many *Aḥādīth* scholars and historians have attributed this manuscript to al-Bukhārī in their biographies of him. From among them are Ibn al-Nadīm (1978:322), Ibn al-Khayr al-Ishbalī (1963:206), Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 12:470), Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517), Ḥājī Khalīfah (n.d: vol. 2:1087), Brockelmann (1962: vol. 3:179) and Fuat Sezgin (1971: vol. 1:347), all of whom

testify to the fact that the manuscript is famous and was indeed written by al-Bukhārī. Thirdly, some of the *Ḥadīth* scholars have quoted from the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* in a manner that clearly indicates that this manuscript was well-known and written by al-Bukhārī. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī has quoted from the manuscript in various places, which shall be mentioned in the section discussing the criticisms directed towards al-Bukhārī (see p 195). Likewise Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī has also quoted from the manuscript in many places which shall be analysed later (see p 195).

Transmitters of the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*

Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517) mentions that this manuscript has been narrated by three students of al-Bukhārī, namely Abū Bashr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥammād al-Dūlābī, Abū Jaʿfar Shaykh Ibn Saʿīd and Ādam Ibn Mūsā al-Khuwārī. Looking at the copies of the written manuscripts, it can be seen that the manuscript that we have with us today has been narrated by Ādam Ibn Mūsā al-Khuwārī. In fact, a chain of narration can be found in the edited version used for the purpose of this thesis. The scribe, ʿUmar Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿAjmī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ḥalabī said:

In the Name of Allāh, The Most Beneficent, The Most Merciful. My Lord! Grant ease. The respected leader and scholar Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ʿUmar Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghālīb al-ʿUthmānī informed us, when he came to Aleppo, *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* was read to him, while I was listening, on the twentieth night of *Ramaḍān* in the fourteenth year of the sixth century (1217 CE). He said, The respected Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Fārānī informed us saying, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaddād related to us in the manner of *Ijāzah* (permission) that Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥāfiẓ narrated to Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ghiṭrīf al-ʿAbdī al-Dahstānī in *Jurjān* in the year seventy one of the third century (981 CE) from his copy, and he affirmed his recitation and said, I recited this to Ādam Ibn Mūsā al-Khuwārī who narrated it from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, who said ... (then he read the book of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*).

Verification of the name of the manuscript

The manuscript is known by three different names. The first is the name ‘*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Ṣaghīr*’. This appears on the title page of the Indian manuscript of this *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, which shall be referred to from now on as (H). Likewise, this name appears on the title and last page of the Saudi manuscript, which shall be referred to as (M). The second is the name ‘*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn*’. This name appears at the end of a second Saudi manuscript, which shall be referred to as (Q). It likewise, appears on the final page of the Indian manuscript (H). This name, again, appears on the final page of the Yemeni manuscript, which shall be referred to as (Y). The third name is ‘*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*’. This name appears on the final page of the Turkish manuscript, which shall be referred to as the edited version of the text. This name also appears on the final page of the Saudi manuscript (Q). It appears to me that this final name, ‘*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*’, is the actual name of the manuscript, for the following reasons. Firstly, it appears in the most authentic copy, the Turkish copy, which is the edited version. This copy is the one that will be relied upon in the verification of the manuscript, and a detailed description of it will come later. Secondly, many of the *Ḥadīth* scholars who wrote biographies of al-Bukhārī, referred to the manuscript by this name. Among them are Ibn al-Nadīm (1978:322), Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 12:470) and Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517). Thirdly, many of the *Ḥadīth* scholars referred to this manuscript by this name in their own written works. Among them are Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī in many places, which I shall mention in the section discussing the criticisms directed towards al-Bukhārī. Also among them is Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (n.d: vol. 2:261) in most places in his written works.

Methodology of edition of the manuscript *al-Duʿafāʾ*

In the second part of the thesis, which deals with an edition of the manuscript of *al-Duʿafāʾ*, I have applied an academic approach in editing the available manuscripts using the following steps;

1. I began by perusing the indexes of manuscripts to determine where manuscripts of the book *al-Duʿafāʾ* are available. I was able to identify manuscripts of the book *al-Duʿafāʾ* in India, Turkey, Yemen and Saudi Arabia. I tried to obtain copies of these manuscripts, unsuccessfully from Yemen or Turkey. I had intended to travel to India to obtain a copy of the manuscript there, but did not have to as I was able to contact the librarian of Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Calcutta, who sent me a copy on micro-film. Also, fortunately, while I was in Saudi Arabia I was able to obtain hard copies of all the above mentioned manuscripts, which meant that I did not need to make any further efforts to obtain copies of them from Yemen or Turkey.
2. I then began to study the five manuscripts in detail, where upon it became apparent that the most accurate of them is the Turkish manuscript, as I shall explain in the thesis. I then used this Turkish manuscript as a primary text in my analysis. I then assigned each manuscript a code for reference throughout my work.
3. I then compared the primary manuscript with the others, and mentioned the differences between them in footnotes.
4. If I determined that the primary manuscript contained an error, then I have indicated this.
5. I have referenced all the *Aḥādīth* mentioned in the primary manuscript.

6. I then explained all the unclear or ambiguous references in the manuscript, such as names, places or sects.

A description of the manuscripts, an exposition of where they were found and an explanation of their value

In Brockelmann's book (1962: vol. 4:56), which deals specifically with the manuscripts and where they were found, there are three separate texts mentioned for the manuscript of '*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*'. Firstly, the manuscript from Patna, (1:558. number 2897). The acquisition of a photocopy of some of this manuscript on microfilm was successful. Secondly, the manuscript from *lālāli* (2089). This is the Turkish copy. A photocopy of this manuscript has been acquired. This is the copy that I depended upon in this verification, and will be referred to as the edited version of the text. Thirdly, the manuscript from Bankipore (12:690). However, it is not entirely certain what is meant by this since the Patna library, mentioned, is located in Bankipore. However, within the copies that have been acquired is a copy written in eastern Arabic calligraphy whose source is unknown, but it shall be mentioned in due course along with a detailed exposition of each copy. In the course of my research I have obtained five copies of the manuscripts, which I shall now describe in detail.

The first copy: This is the copy that I have relied upon in this verification, and is the basis for the edited version of the text. Some researchers refer to this copy as the master copy. Its source is the *Sulaymānia* library in Turkey and it is a complete copy starting with a chapter on names in alphabetical order. It is written in clear text and is located within a compilation. It is comprise 18 plates plus the cover page. Each plate is divided into two parts, verso and recto, and contains 19 lines, each line generally

containing around eleven to 12 words. The chapter titles in this copy are clear and written in wide extended fonts. At the end of the manuscript in the scribes writing it is written:

This is the end of the book ‘*al-Ḍu‘afā*’. Completed by the servant of Allāh °Umar Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-°Ajmī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Ḥalabī - may Allāh have mercy on them all - on a Sunday morning on the fourteenth day of *Jumāda al-Awwal* in the thirty first year of the seventh century after the migration of our master Muḥammad, may Allāh shower him with his peace and blessings (1234 CE).

The reasons why this copy has been depended upon are that it is a complete copy with nothing removed from it. Secondly, it begins with the first letter of the Arabic alphabet and ends with the last. Thirdly, the name of the scribe has been mentioned in it. Fourthly, the chain of narration has been mentioned at the beginning of the manuscript. Lastly, the date of scribing of this copy of the manuscript has been mentioned at its end.

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Figure No. 1:
First page of the Turkey copy of the *al-Du'at*² manuscript.

[illegible]

Figure No. 2:
Last page of the Turkey copy of the *al-Du'a'afā'* manuscript

The second copy: Its source is ‘*Dār al-Makḥṭūṭāt*’, the West Library in *al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr* in Sana in the Arab Republic of Yemen. The copy is exceedingly good, however it is incomplete. I shall refer to this copy as (Y). It begins with “al-Madanī, *Munkar al-Ḥadīth*. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Uways related from him.” This can be found in the section pertaining to Zayd Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zayd Ibn Aslam. Thus, this copy is missing 127 biographies. Also, there is a black blotch over the biography of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu‘mān Ibn Thābit. It appears that this has been done deliberately. The copy ends with the last letter of the Arabic alphabet. It is written in a clear ancient script, and is contained within a compilation of manuscripts. This copy comprise of 17 plates each divided into two, and each plate has 15 lines on it, each line containing on average between 11 and 12 words. The chapter titles are written in clear wide font as is the beginning of each biography. This copy has appendices containing the lost sentences within the text in the same format as the written text. Written at the end of the manuscript in the handwriting of the scribe is,

The end of the book. That being the book ‘*al-Ḍu‘afā’ wa al-Matrūkīn*’ of al-Bukhārī. May Allāh shower his peace and blessings on our master Muḥammad and his family. It was completed by the humble slave of Allāh Sa‘dān Ibn Sa‘dān Ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥarrānī on a Sunday, the day of ‘*Arāfāt*’ (10th of *Dhul-Ḥijjah*) in the forty fifth year of the sixth century (1248 CE). Praising Allāh the most high and sending prayers on his Messenger and praise be to Allāh the Lord of the universe.

[illegible][illegible]

Figure No. 3:
First page of the Yemeni copy of *al-Duʿafāʾ* manuscript “Y”

Figure No. 4:
Last page of the Yemeni copy of *al-Duʿafāʾ* manuscript “Y”

The third copy: Its source is the Khuda Bakhsh Library in Patna, India, and is given the number 2897. I shall refer to this copy as (H). It is a complete copy, but is written in a modern eastern Arabic script. It contains missing words and many calligraphic mistakes. It appears as though the biography of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān Ibn Thābit has been blotted out deliberately. This copy also has some appendices with it. It is comprised of 19 plates not including the title page. Each plate is divided into two. Each plate has 19 lines on it, each line averaging between 13 and 15 words. The chapter headings have a line above them and at the end of the copy is written, “The end of the book ‘*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn*’ of al-Bukhārī. May Allāh send prayers upon our master Muḥammad and his family and Companions.” The name nor the date of writing of the scribe is present.

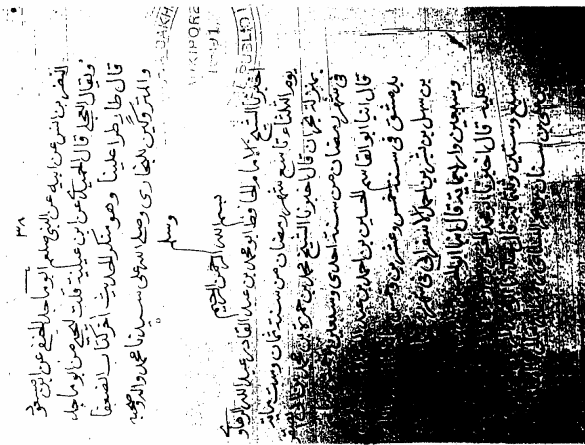


Figure No. 6:
Last page of the Indian copy of *al-Du'a al-qūṣi* manuscript "H"

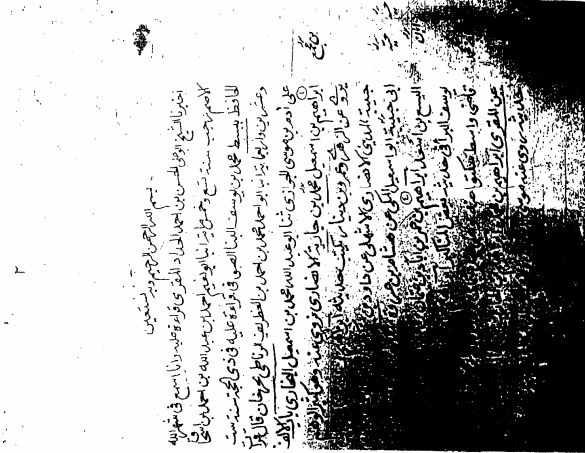


Figure No. 5:
First page of the Indian copy of *al-Du'a al-qūṣi* manuscript "H"

The fourth copy: Its source is the library of the King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz University [*Umm al-Qurā* university today] in Makkah in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, under the number 124. I shall refer to this copy as (Q). It is a complete copy. The biography of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān Ibn Thābit has again been blotted out, seemingly deliberately. It is comprised of 20 plates not including the title page. Each plate is divided into two. Each plate has 19 lines on it, each line averaging between ten and 12 words. The chapter titles are written in clear wide font as is the beginning of each biography, and in the end of this copy is written, “The end of the book ‘*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn*’ of al-Bukhārī. May Allāh send prayers upon our master Muḥammad and his family.” The name of the scribe is not present nor the date of writing.

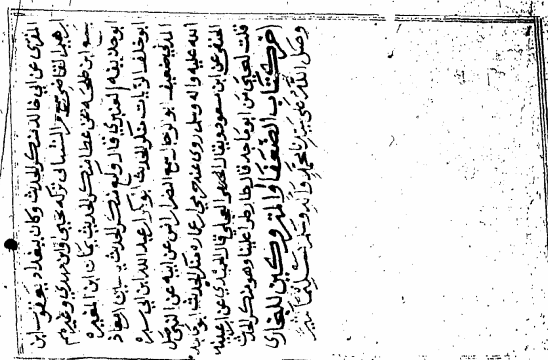


Figure No. 8:
Last page of the Makkah, Saudi copy of *al-Duʿafāʾ* manuscript “Q”

The fifth copy: A photocopy of this manuscript has been acquired from a microfilm copy at the library of the Islamic University of Madinah, but its source is unknown. I shall refer to this copy as (M). It is a complete copy, written in clear eastern calligraphy. Due to this I feel there is a possibility that this copy is preserved in one of the libraries of India. The biography of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān Ibn Thābit has again been blotted out seemingly deliberately. It is comprised of eleven plates not including the title page. Each plate is divided into two. Each plate has twenty four lines on it, each line averaging between 12 and 15 words. In the end of this copy is written:

The end of the book '*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Ṣaghīr*' of the *imām*, the *Ḥāfiẓ*, the Jurist, Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī. May Allāh send prayers upon our master Muḥammad, the last of the messengers, the interceder for the sinners and upon his blessed family.

The name of the scribe is not present nor the date of writing.

Earlier printed editions of the manuscript

Due to its importance and the usefulness of its information, researchers have been keen to print and distribute the manuscript. After my own careful research I found that the manuscript has been printed a number of times before, two of the earliest editions are listed below in chronological order (*al-Muʿjam al-Shāmil*, 1992: vol. 1:157-158).

Firstly, in 1323 AH / 1905 CE, a printed copy was published by Muḥammad Muḥī al-Dīn al-Jaʿfarī al-Zainabī [or al-Zainī] and printed by the *Ilah al-ḥamd bādī* press in Hyderabad, India. This edition was printed in 38 pages without any editing nor footnotes added. This book was distributed together with another book titled '*al-Munfardā wa al-weḥdān*' by Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj. The book was re-printed in this edition in 1349 AH / 1930 CE in 38 pages again in the city of *Allāhabād*. After much investigation, searching in the British Library and consulting a number of specialists, I have not been able to obtain a copy of this print. However, it would appear to me that even if one could obtain a copy of this print, it would most likely be based upon a single Indian manuscript, rather than being an edition based upon the various manuscripts spread around the world.

Secondly, in 1395 AH / 1976 CE, a printed copy was edited by Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāid and printed in 147 pages by '*Dār al-Waʿī*' press in Aleppo, Syria. In 1406 AH / 1986 CE this edition was re-printed by the '*Dār al-Maʿrifah*' press in Beirut, and it is this copy that is used widely by *Ḥadīth* scholars and students. After examining this print in detail, I have some observations to make upon it. The editor has not done a great deal to this print for in only eight pages of his introduction, he provides a

biography of al-Bukhārī comprising of his name, lineage, date of birth, his teachers, students, works and a summary introduction to the book. The editor does not mention which manuscript he relied upon for his edition. The number of biographies listed in this edition are 418, while the edited version of the text has 441 entries. Thus it is missing 23 biographies. The editor has added footnotes to each biography from *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* of al-Bukhārī and *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl* of Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī. There is no grading given or mention of its sources for those *Aḥādīth* which al-Bukhārī mentioned in the text without a chain of narration. I shall list the missing biographies in Arabic, as they are part of the original text of the book, in appendix O (see p 334).

Reasons for my re-edition of the manuscript *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*

Firstly, the print of Muḥammad Muhī al-Dīn al-Jaʿfarī al-Zainabī from India is not extant. Secondly, even if this print were available, it would need to be re-edited and have its contents checked and compared against other manuscripts. Thirdly, the edition of Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāid, from Syria, is not up to academic standards, as he did not make his editing using any of the original manuscripts. Indeed, he did not even mention which source he relied on, though it is plausible that he used the aforementioned print of Muḥammad Muhī al-Dīn al-Jaʿfarī al-Zainabī.

In short, there is no doubt that Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī authored the book of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, even if he may have summarised it from his larger work *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Kabīr*. In this section I have established his authorship of the work by a number of methods. Firstly, by mentioning the statements of the scholars of history and *Ḥadīth* who have ascribed the manuscript to him. Secondly, from the quotations of the

Ḥadīth scholars from the manuscript, either in criticism of it or for other reasons. Thirdly, the chain of narration of the manuscript written by the scribe in the beginning of the manuscript. Lastly, the general popularity of the manuscript as being authored by Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. I have also mentioned the difference between the scholars regarding the name of the manuscript, and that it seems to me that its correct name is *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. Since Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī was one of the most important authors of the third century *hijrī*, and since this manuscript is one of his many works, therefore the academic edition of his work is of the utmost importance. Even though there have been previous attempts to do so, none of them, except for the Indian print, have been based upon manuscripts, nor have they employed a rigorous academic approach.

The Academic Value of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*

In my opinion, there is no book written in any discipline, except that there should be some academic benefit from it. However, the level of benefit of the book will vary. So there may be a book which simply repeats what has been mentioned in books before it, and it may be that this book is over three hundred pages long, so the benefit from it is really only a few pages; but this repetition will, for some, be a benefit as it implies emphasis and confirmation of that which has preceded. This is one angle of benefit, and an example is the book '*Nail al-Awtār Sharḥ Muntaqā al-Akḥbār*' of Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, which is considered by some to be one of the best books of *Aḥkām* (Islamic rulings), also known as *fiqh* of *Ḥadīth*. However, in reality it is a repetition of what is in the book '*Fath al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*', from the angle of *fiqh* rulings, while from the angle of *Ḥadīth*, it is a repetition of '*al-Talkhīṣ al-Ḥabīr*', both of these books being by Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar. There is

also the consideration that what one person in a discipline may consider a benefit, another may consider a harm. Here, however, there is no doubt that *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* possesses an extremely high academic value. Below I will examine the special characteristics of his book using the three methods that are commonly used by researchers for the purpose of determining the academic value of a book.

Manuscripts and books written discussing *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*

During my research on this topic I was not able to find many books discussing al-Bukhārī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, and it seems that the reason for this is that *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* is a summarised book and does not go into extended discussion of weak narrators. However, two of the titles that I found that discussed *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* are the following. Firstly, '*Al-Iktifāʾ fī tanqīḥ kitāb al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*' by Muḡhlaṭāī Ibn Qalīj. I know nothing of this book except that it is a manuscript kept at the Western Library of the Grand Mosque in Sana, Yemen. Secondly, '*Istibraq al-dībaj wa al-ḥarīr naẓm kitāb al-Ḍuʿafāʾ as-Saghir*'. This book is authored by Abū Muḡammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn ʿAlī Ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥarbī and consists of poetry describing the details that al-Bukhārī put in the biographies of the narrators. It has one thousand verses of poetry. This book itself is quite small consisting of thirty nine A5 sized pages. It was published in 1990 by *Dār al-Funūn* printers and distributors, in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

Books that transmit and quote from *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*

As I have mentioned previously (see page 142), *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* is regarded as one of the oldest books on the topic of weak narrators that is easily accessible, hence, there is hardly a book on the topic that criticise narrators except that it quotes from the contents of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. Of the many important books that incorporate al-Bukhārī's

comments on the reliability of narrators are the following books. Firstly, ‘*al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*’ of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, which is regarded as one of the most comprehensive books on the subject of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*. Secondly, ‘*Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*’ of Yūsuf Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, which is an authoritative work detailing the biographies of the narrators used by the authors of the six-famous collections of *Aḥādīth* in all of their books together. Thirdly, ‘*Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl*’ of Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī. Fourthly ‘*Lisān al-Mīzān*’ of Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar. There are many other major source works which mentioned the statements of al-Bukhārī. There is no need for me to list examples of their usage of al-Bukhārī’s comments; a cursory glance at any of these works will show his statements being used profusely on almost every page.

The position of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* amongst the books of weak narrators

‘*Al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*’ of al-Bukhārī is counted amongst the earliest extant book specialising in dealing with weak narrators. I have mentioned in appendix G (see p 280) a list of the books written by the scholars of *Ḥadīth* on weak narrators, and al-Bukhārī’s book is considered to be amongst the most important of these. Another speciality of the manuscript is that in it al-Bukhārī has transmitted statements from his teachers and his teachers’ teachers who do not have books of their own. These statements are of great value as they are not found in any other source texts, and even if they are mentioned elsewhere they are simply referenced from al-Bukhārī’s manuscript. I have determined all the sources that al-Bukhārī has depended upon in his manuscript, in order to prove the value of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. These sources number thirty-five in total.

In short, the primary academic value of al-Bukhārī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* relies in its use of up to 35 sources. Al-Bukhārī has generally narrated from these very sources with his own chain of narration. Most of the authors of the source texts are from the second *hijrī* century, though some are al-Bukhārī contemporaries from the third century. The importance of these sources becomes apparent when we note that al-Bukhārī's manuscript – despite being a summary – is one of the few works which preserves them. Even if one were to find mention of them in other works, there would always be quotations from one of al-Bukhārī's books.

Conclusion

Having examined the most famous printed version of '*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*' it is clear to me that this copy cannot be depended upon. There are over 20 biographies missing from it, the most famous and important being that of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān Ibn Thābit. Also, the editor of this printed version does not specify which manuscript he depended upon. Perhaps the editor used an older printed version of the book. Also, it is clear that some of the bigoted scholars of the *Ḥanafī madhhab* have attempted to distort the manuscripts, as all of the manuscripts, except for the Turkish manuscript, have the biography of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān Ibn Thābit blackened out.

I end this chapter with an emphasis upon two important points. Firstly, edition of a text is not just a beautification and correction, but rather it is a creative activity which requires two lofty characteristics of the editor; trustworthiness and patience. Trustworthiness, as the true presentation of the text is a judgment upon the author, his age and his environment. Any alteration of the text is a transgression of the rights of the author, as this right belongs solely to him. Secondly, an explanation of the

academic importance of a book is a matter of the greatest consequence. Also if the researcher were to write an academic review of the book then this would be most desirable, as has been done by Akram Al-[°]Umarī in writing ‘*Mawārid al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī fī Kitāb Tārīkh Baghdādī*’ As I have already explained, in this book *al-Ḍu[°]afā[°]* al-Bukhārī used 35 source references. I am determined to write on this topic in detail to explain the sources used by al-Bukhārī in his other works on *al-Jarḥ*. This is because there are those who have claimed that al-Bukhārī copied from the book ‘*al-[°]Ilal*’ of Ibn al-Madīnī, and have then attacked al-Bukhārī severely for doing so. Here I would like to end this conclusion by mentioning one example of a source used by al-Bukhārī in his book.

Al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 9:183) mentions that al-Qaṭṭān had authored a book on weak narrators though he had not come across it himself. If we are to rely on this, it makes al-Qaṭṭān the first person who wrote a book specifically dealing with weak narrators. After his death the scholars of *Ḥadīth* collected his gradings of narrators and incorporated them into the books of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta[°]ḍīl*, with al-Bukhārī having collected in *al-Ḍu[°]afā[°]* more statements of his than anyone else. Al-Bukhārī does not name the title of al-Qaṭṭān’s book but 33 of the biographies in al-Bukhārī’s book rely on something mentioned in al-Qaṭṭān’s book, or mention a statement or opinion of al-Qaṭṭān.

Chapter Six

Al-Bukhārī's method in writing *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*

Introduction

It was famously observed (Ibn Ḥajar; 1986:16) that “the *fiqh* of al-Bukhārī is in his chapter headings”, this astute comment was made after the scholars of *Ḥadīth* had studied al-Bukhārī's book '*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*' in depth. No doubt this book is considered from amongst the most important books of *Aḥādīth*, to the extent that it is even considered the most important book for the Muslims after the *Qur'ān*. Due to this it has been studied throughout the ages, with many commentaries and explanations being written on it. Here in '*al-Ḍu'afā'*' I do not claim that al-Bukhārī used the same method as he used in his *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, due to the different nature of the subject matter of the two books. However, after studying this book in depth, I have found that al-Bukhārī has used a precise academic method, which can be described from four angles. These four angles are, firstly, the book's general order of composition. Secondly, the presentation of biographies. Thirdly, al-Bukhārī's reasons for disparagement of narrators. Fourthly, the terminology used by al-Bukhārī in disparaging narrators. I shall now explain these in detail in order to present the methodology of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī in authoring this book.

The manuscript's general order of composition

Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī did not preface his book with introduction which mentions the reason for the compilation of the book, nor did he mention his conditions for listing weak narrators. It may be noted that he has also not provided introductions in some of the other important books he wrote, such as '*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*' and '*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*'. Al-Bukhārī ordered his book alphabetically in Arabic. So the first chapter of his book is the letter *alif* and the last chapter of the book is the letter *yā'*, and then he ended the book with a chapter on titles (*al-Kunā*). Sometimes he

would place under a chapter heading a generic chapter listing names that did not deserve a complete subheading to themselves. He would then group these names together under this generic subheading. He also did not take into account the second letter of the name when ordering alphabetically. So for example he placed the name 'Bashīr Ibn Maymūn', biography number 42, before 'Bādhām Abū Ṣāliḥ', biography number 44, even though it should precede it alphabetically. The name that occurs frequently also precedes the name that occurs less frequently.

The presentation of biographies

Firstly, the biographies do not generally exceed two lines. The name of the narrator is mentioned, followed by father's name and his country. Most of the time he suffices with mentioning just one or two narrators whom he related from and who related from him. For example, al-Bukhārī said in biography number 20, "Ismā'īl Ibn Muslim, al-Makkī, who narrated from al-Ḥasan and al-Zuhrī. 'Tarakahu Ibn al-Mubārak wa rubbamā rawa 'anhu' (Ibn al-Mubārak abandoned him and perhaps he also related from him)".

Secondly, if there was a famous narration or a famous chain for a given narrator, he would mention it. However, he would also add that it was not authentic. An example of this is biography number 90, where al-Bukhārī states, "Ḥurayth Ibn Abī Ḥurayth heard from Ibn 'Umar. Ibn Ḥalbas related from him in 'al-Ṣarf', as is mentioned by Abū al-Mughīrah from al-Awzā'ī. His (that is Ḥurayth) narrations are not to be accepted."

Thirdly, al-Bukhārī completes most biographies with a ruling based on the rules of *al-Jarḥ*. Usually he would end with the likes of 'His *Ḥadīth* are *Munkar*'. An example of this is found in biography number 138, "Sa'īd Ibn Salām Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who narrated from al-Thawrī. His *Aḥādīth* are *munkarah*." ¹

Fourthly, when giving his ruling on a particular person, he would usually use the opinions and rulings of other scholars of *Ḥadīth* who had preceded him. So, for instance, he would quote 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak or Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah. An example of this being biography number 10, "Ibrāhīm Ibn Muslim al-Hajarī, who narrated from Abū Awfā and Abū al-Aḥwaṣ. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad said, 'Ibn 'Uyaynah regarded him as a weak narrator'." Also, al-Bukhārī would quote from his teachers like 'Alī Ibn al-Madanī and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal. An example of this is in biography number 40, "Bishr Ibn Ḥarb Abū 'Amr al-Nadabī. I heard 'Alī Ibn al-Madanī call him a weak narrator. He [Bishr Ibn Ḥarb] narrated from Ibn 'Umar. 'Alī said of him, "Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd did not narrate from him, He was *Baṣrī*".

Fifthly, if the narrator professed a different belief to that of al-Bukhārī, he would mention this as well. An example of this is in biography number 266, "'Alī Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn; he heard from 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and Jābir Ibn Zayd. Ibn Jurayj related from him. Bishr Ibn al-Mufaḍḍal related from his father who related from 'Alī that he ['Alī Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn] was a *Khārījī*."

Sixthly, very rarely did al-Bukhārī mention the date of death of a narrator, but an example of this is in biography number 187, "'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Najīḥ the

¹-An explanation of al-Bukhārī's terminology and their frequency of occurrence shall be included later, see p 151.

freed slave of Sa'd al-Madanī, Abū Ja'far. On the authority of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Dīnār. Ibn Abū al-Aswad said, 'He died in the year 178 AH'."

Al-Bukhārī's reasons for disparagement of narrators

Having studied the book of *al-Ḍu'afā'*, after examining the different reasons for disparagement used by Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī in the book, I have found that al-Bukhārī disparages narrators from four angles. It is known from the discipline of disparagement of narrators that criticism cannot be from any angle other than these four. These four types are explained below.

The first type is when al-Bukhārī disparages a large group of narrators from the angle of *ḍabt* (precision). It is known that precision in narration is of two types: precision in memorization and precision in writing. The majority of those criticised by al-Bukhārī are with regards to precision in memorization. Some have been disparaged due to poor memory, others due to excessive contradiction of stronger reports, others due to excessive guessing, and others due to excessive mistakes or forgetfulness. I shall examine this shortly (see p 153), where I considered those whom Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī labelled '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*'. All of those narrators were rejected on the basis of lack of precision, whose types are mentioned above. I would point out here that al-Bukhārī has used the term '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*' differently to the majority of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*. However, both have used the term with regards to weakness in precision, though in slightly different ways. The number of narrators labelled by al-Bukhārī as '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*' is 142 narrators.

The second type is when al-Bukhārī disparages a group of narrators from the angle of uprightness in character. Amongst them are those who have been criticised due to innovation in the religion. The meaning of *Ahl al-bid'ah* (people of innovation) here, are those people who believe something opposing that which is known from the Prophet or his Companions, due to a misunderstanding and not out of stubbornness. Such innovators are of two types. The first are those who are not deemed disbelievers such as *al-Khawārij*, or *al-Rawāfiḍ al-Shi'ah*, not including the extremists amongst them, and others who clearly oppose basic principles from the *Sunnah*. However, these are all people who have based their beliefs upon an alternative understanding or interpretation of the sources. The second type are those who are deemed disbelievers by consensus of the major scholars, such as the extreme *Rawāfiḍ Shi'ah* who ascribe divinity to the fourth Caliph ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. There is consensus among scholars of *Ḥadīth* that the narration of someone in this second category is not acceptable. Regarding the first category, however, there is difference of opinion. I mention below a number of these opinions without indicating who held them and what proofs are given for them, as such detail is beyond the scope of this research. The first opinion is that the narrations of all the people of innovation are not acceptable. The second opinion is acceptance of the narration of the innovator who is not accused of lying to strengthen his *madhhab*, even though he may actively call to his innovation. The third opinion is acceptance of the narration of the innovator who is known for honesty and adherence to the religion, though he does not actively call to his innovation. Implicitly, if he calls to his innovation actively then his narrations are rejected (Ibn Ḥajar, 1992:136-138).

An inspection of the practise of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* shows that they accept or reject *Ḥadīth* from different sects on the basis of the severity of the innovation involved. So, for example, I regard 'light' innovations to be like *al-Irjā'*, and *al-Khurūj*; and 'moderate' innovations to be like *al-Naṣb*, *Shi'ism* and *al-Qadr*; and 'severe' innovations to be like the extreme *Rawāfiḍ Shi'ah* and *al-Jahmīah*.

I have not found a direct text from any of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* defining the methodology of al-Bukhārī with regards to this issue, except the statement of al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 3:160) where he says:

Due to his [°Alī Ibn Hishām] extremism al-Bukhārī did not narrate his *Ḥadīth*. This is because he would generally avoid *al-Rawāfiḍ Shi'ah*, as though he feared their use of *taqiyyah* (intentional hypocrisy). On the contrary, we find that he generally does not avoid the narrations of the *al-Qadariyyah*, *al-Khawārij* and *al-Jahmīah*, as these sects are particular about honesty despite their innovations.

Having referred to Ibn Ḥajar's writings in '*Hadī al-Sārī*' and what has been written by Karīmah Sudānī in '*The Methodology of Imām al-Bukhārī in his al-Jām' al-Ṣaḥīḥ with regard to narrating from Innovators*', it seems that al-Bukhārī is amongst those scholars who place emphasis upon the truthfulness of the narrator. So if this is the case then he narrates from him even if he is an innovator. However, at the same time I argue that al-Bukhārī has some sternness with regard to the *Murj'ah* from amongst the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah. As for the innovations that al-Bukhārī mentions in his book *al-Ḍu'afā'* as causes for the weakness of a narrator, they are five.

Firstly, *al-Irjā'*. Al-Bukhārī has mentioned seven narrators in *al-Ḍu'afā'* due to their belief in *al-Irjā'*, namely biographies numbered 25, 139, 174, 183, 231 and 249. These seven shall be mentioned in detail when I deal with criticisms levelled against al-Bukhārī for his use of certain narrators (see p 211).

Secondly, *al-Qadariyyah*. In the book of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, al-Bukhārī mentions 12 narrators who are ascribed with the beliefs of *al-Qadariyyah*, namely those biographies numbered 9, 103, 193, 237, 250, 292, 314, 325, 365, 378, 383, and 413. I shall examine six of them in detail when I discuss the narrators about whom al-Bukhārī has been criticised (see p 215).

Thirdly, *al-Khurūj*. In the book of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, al-Bukhārī mentions two narrators who are accused of this innovation of *al-Khurūj*, namely those biographies numbered 167 and 266.

Fourthly, *Shīʿsm*. Al-Bukhārī mentions one narrator who is accused of *Shīʿsm*, in biography numbered 226.

Fifthly, *ʿIʿtizāl*. In the book of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, al-Bukhārī mentions one narrator who has been accused of *ʿIʿtizāl*, in the biography numbered 88. I shall examine this in detail when I discuss the narrators about whom al-Bukhārī has been criticised (see p 219).

Apart from these sects of innovation, al-Bukhārī has also disparaged some narrators due to their being known for or accused of lying, which both relate to the uprightness of the narrator. Being accused of lying is the fourth level of disparagement while being known to lie is the fifth level. In the book of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, al-Bukhārī mentions eight narrators under this category, in those biographies numbered 108, 140, 147, 160, 190, 220, 374 and 400. However, al-Bukhārī does not accuse them himself of lying, but only quotes other scholars of disparagement on this issue.

The third type of reason for disparagement is when al-Bukhārī lists a narrator on the basis of the weakness of his narrations, without specifying the nature of this weakness. Al-Bukhārī weakens a total of 63 narrators in *al-Ḍu'afā'* in this manner. Regarding 32 of the narrators in *al-Ḍu'afā'* he said, “*lā yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhū*”; concerning five narrators he said, “*lām yathbut ḥadīthuhū*”; relating to seven narrators he said, “*lā yutāba'u ḥadīthuhū*”; regarding 14 narrators he said, “*ḥadīthuhū laysa bilqa'im*”; in reference to three narrators he said, “*yatakallamūna fī ḥadīthihī*”; and relating to two narrators he said, “*lā yu'raf ḥadīthuhū*”. I will shortly explain the meanings of these terms. However, in this type too al-Bukhārī is not beyond criticism, as he mentioned amongst these 63 narrators, 14 Companions whose chains of narration are weak. I will deal with these in detail when I discuss the criticisms leveled against al-Bukhārī. Al-Bukhārī has also mentioned two narrators in *al-Ḍu'afā'* due to ‘*Tadlīs*’, namely the biographies numbered 110 and 118. *Al-Tadlīs* (lit. to hide, interpolate), and is means by which narrators try to hide the weakness of their teacher. *Al-Tadlīs* is of different types, the most common of which is *Tadlīs* in the chain. A detailed analysis of the subject is given in the book ‘*Al-Tadlīs fī Ḥadīth*’ of Musfir Al-Dumaynī (1992:37).

The fourth type is where a narrator is disparaged due to being ‘unknown.’ This occurs in only once instance, where al-Bukhārī mentions in the biography of Sa'īd Ibn Dhī La'wah, number 134, that “he is unknown (*lā yu'raf*)”. Here al-Bukhārī intends by this saying that the narrator is ‘*majhūl*’. Al-Baghdādī (1972:149) explained, “*al-Majhūl* according to the *Ḥadīth* scholars is the narrator who is not famous for seeking knowledge nor is he known by the scholars for seeking knowledge, nor are his *Ḥadīth* known except from a single narrator.” Al-Bukhārī

also says in '*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*' (1986c: vol. 1:334) regarding Sa'īd Ibn Dhī La'wah that "he is *majhūl, lā yu'raf* (He is unknown)" which supports the understanding that he considers Dhī La'wah to be weak for being unknown.

The terminology used when disparaging a narrator

Al-Bukhārī used many terms when disparaging narrators in his book '*al-Ḍu'afā'*'. He depended heavily on the statements of his predecessors and teachers, to the extent that it has been said that it is difficult to decide whether the book was authored by al-Bukhārī or one of his teachers. In some of his biographies, he uses the quotes of his teachers and predecessors exclusively. In this book al-Bukhārī quotes one hundred and twenty six rulings from the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*. This raises the question of whether al-Bukhārī's quoting from a scholar means that he necessarily accepts that scholar's opinion on that issue. I argue that the answer is clearly yes as he included them in his book *al-Ḍu'afā'*, unless al-Bukhārī mentions something to the contrary elsewhere. One may also ask what al-Bukhārī means by his statements in some of his biographies when he says the like of: "*tarakūhu* (they abandoned him)", "*sakatū 'anhu* (they remained silent about him)", "*laysa bilqawīyy 'indahum* (they did not regard him as strong)" and "*yatakallamūna fīhi* (they made some accusation about him)". What I understand from such statements is that he is only quoting other scholars's opinions, without passing his own judgment. I shall explain this in more detail shortly. The total number of biographies in the book reach 441. The number of times al-Bukhārī quotes from others to attain a ruling is 121, which is approximately 27%. To be more specific, al-Bukhārī depended solely upon the rulings of his predecessors, without passing his own judgment, in 85 biographies. He quoted the sayings of his predecessors in addition to his own judgment in 36

biographies. He made 317 rulings based solely on his own opinions. In three cases he did not pass any ruling at all. I present below a graphical presentation of these proportions.

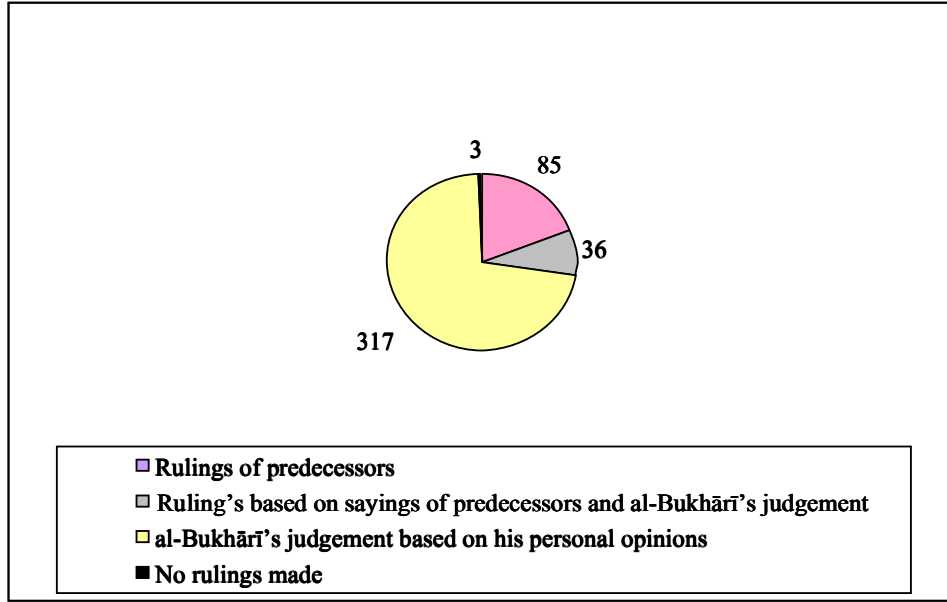


Figure No. 1: Proportions of biographies in *al-Ḍuʿafā'* according to how al-Bukhārī reached his judgement

Specific terms used by al-Bukhārī in his judgment on narrators

When I compiled the terms used by al-Bukhārī in his book, I remembered al-Sakhāwī's statement (1992: vol. 2:109):

Whosoever were to examine the books of the narrators, such as the book of Ibn Abī Ḥātim, '*al-Kāmil*' of Ibn ʿAdī, and '*al-Tahdhīb*', as well as other books of narrators, would obtain many terms of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*. If a student of knowledge were to make the effort to do this, and placed every term in its correct level, along with an explanation of its meanings linguistically and technically, then this would be a praiseworthy matter.

There is no doubt that many of the terms used by al-Bukhārī are of importance for the *Ḥadīth* scholars, such that they compiled explanations of some of them. However, they did not expound every ruling of al-Bukhārī, due to their large number,

so I have compiled the terms that al-Bukhārī utilised in the book into 31 categories. These terms are of great importance, and hence I shall examine them in detail below. The terms are ordered according to frequency of use in the book.

1. *Munkar al-Ḥadīth*

In the Arabic language the word *munkar* is utilised as follows: *nakira* (to disown) something and *ankarahu* (disown it), so it is *munkar* (disowned), indicating that it is not accepted in the heart, and the tongue rejects it. The linguistic root 'nūn', 'kāf' and 'rā' is a root in the Arabic language meaning 'what is opposed to ones knowledge of what is right.' *Munkar min al-amr* (linguistically, that which is rejected or unknown) is the opposite of *al-ma'rūf* (that which is known and accepted) and it means all that which the *sharī'ah* has proscribed or disliked. Its plural is *manākīr* (Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 5:232-234; al-Jurjānī, 2000:303). In the terminology of the *Ḥadīth* scholars, '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*' usually means that the narrator has a weak memory and contradicts a source that is more reliable than he is. So not only has he narrated a *Ḥadīth* which no one else has narrated, but also contradicted someone more reliable than himself. It appears to me from the statements of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* that the narrations of the *munkar* narrator are acceptable for *shawāhid wa mutāba'āt* (supporting evidence). The exception to this is if a specific *Ḥadīth* has been referred to as *munkar* (Abū al-Ḥasan, 1991: vol. 1:329), in which case it cannot even be used for *shawāhid wa mutāba'āt*. For example, Muslim (1987: vol. 1:5) argued,

The sign that a *Ḥadīth* is *munkar* is that when this *Ḥadīth* is referenced against the *Ḥadīth* of a reliable and exact narrator, then it contradicts that which is narrated by the reliable scholars. If the narration contradicts the more authentic source, or does not agree fully with it, then it is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*. If most of this persons' *Aḥādīth* are like this, then he is *mahjūr al-Ḥadīth* (abandoned), and his narrations are not accepted and are not acted upon.

This term has been utilised in other ways too. **Firstly**, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Nasāʾī, for example, used this term to refer to the single truthful narrator, but who fell short of achieving the level of expertise in relating *Ḥadīth*, who narrated a *Ḥadīth* with no support for it (Ibn Ḥajar, 1984: vol. 2:674). This of course is the definition of a *ḥasan Ḥadīth*. **Secondly**, the *Ḥadīth* scholars used it in a generic sense to refer to a single narration narrated by an unknown narrator, or a narrator that has been described as having a bad memory, or a narrator who is deemed weak if he narrates from some particular teachers, or if only some of his *Aḥādīth* are considered weak; all of this while not having any additional support for this *Ḥadīth* (Ibn Ḥajar, 1984: vol. 2:675). **Thirdly**, the *Ḥadīth* scholars also used this term in a more generic sense to refer to the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator who was *matrūk* or *waḍḍāʿ* (fabricator). This occurs quite frequently (Abū al-Ḥasan, 1991: vol. 1:307-308). **Fourthly**, some *Ḥadīth* scholars used this term when they wanted to strongly disparage a narrator. This usage can be seen by al-Dāraquṭnī and others (Abū al-Ḥasan, 1991: vol. 1:308).

In his book 'al-Du'afā'', al-Bukhārī judged one hundred and forty two narrators as being *munkar al-Ḥadīth*. He made this ruling more than any other ruling in his book. One may ask what al-Bukhārī meant by this ruling? Ibn Qaṭṭān opines, "Al-Bukhārī said, 'whenever I have ruled a *Ḥadīth* as being *munkar*, then it's narration is not permissible'." Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (n.d: vol. 1:6) has quoted this on many occasions in his biographies. Likewise al-Subkī (1964: vol. 2:224), al-Sakhāwī (1992: vol. 2:125), al-Suyūṭī (1989: vol. 1:349) and Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 1:20). Ibn Ḥajar said, "This statement has been authentically related from ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Aḥmad al-Khaffāf from al-Bukhārī." So this explanation of what is meant by '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*' is clear from al-Bukhārī. To see a practical example of what is

meant by this term, I will examine a few biographies that al-Bukhārī has ruled to be *munkar al-Ḥadīth*. The first is biography number 2, namely Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Abī Ḥubaybah al-Madanī al-Anṣārī al-Ashhalī. Al-Bukhārī said of him, "*munkar al-Ḥadīth*". However, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 2:42) said of the same narrator "*thiqah*." Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 2:43) said of him, "He is righteous. His *Ḥadīth* are to be written, but he is not to be used as an evidence [if he is alone in narrating the *Ḥadīth*]". Ibn 'Adī (1997: vol. 1:383) said of him, "He is acceptable with regard to relating narrations, just as Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn said of him. His *Aḥādīth* are to be written despite his weakness." So taking al-Bukhārī's ruling on this person that he is '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*', we would have to say that relating from this person is not permissible. I have subsequently examined the statements of other scholars of *al-Jarḥ* with regard to this narrator, and it is quite clear that al-Bukhārī's ruling is very strict. I would argue that in this case we can not conclude that al-Bukhārī's statement means that the narrations of the *munkar al-Ḥadīth* can not be accepted.

Another example of this is in biography number 49, Ja'far Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Wāsiṭī Abū al-Ashhab, Al-Bukhārī said of him, '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*'. Al-Bukhārī (1986b: vol. 2:189) himself quoted Yazīd Ibn Hārūn saying, "He [Ja'far Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Wāsiṭī Abū al-Ash-hab] is reliable and trustworthy." Ibn 'Adī (1997: vol. 2:369) said of him:

Yazīd Ibn Hārūn and Ismā'īl Ibn 'Ayyāsh narrated many good *Ḥadīth* from him. His *Aḥādīth* are *Ḥasan* and I hope there is no problem with him. He is from those whose *Aḥādīth* are written and I have never found him relating a single *munkar ḥadīth*

If one were to take al-Bukhārī's statement to its necessary conclusions, we would also have to reject this narrator's *Aḥādīth*. I have thus examined statements of other

scholars of *al-Jarḥ*, with regard to this narrator, and again it seems that al-Bukhārī's ruling is very strict. Thus, again we cannot conclude that al-Bukhārī's statement means that his (the *munkar al-Ḥadīth*) narrations cannot be accepted.

After having examined all the biographies where al-Bukhārī has ruled with the ruling of '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*', I have concluded that we cannot always take this to mean that these narrators cannot be related from. If we take al-Bukhārī's explanation of *munkar al-Ḥadīth* without restriction, then we would have to label him as *mutashaddid* (excessively strict) with regard to these biographies. Thus, I have divided the biographies that al-Bukhārī ruled with '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*' into two categories. **The first** are those biographies that al-Bukhārī ruled with *munkar al-Ḥadīth* without mentioning anything else in addition. These are the most numerous by far, being 117 narrators. Of these there are four where he quoted others giving the ruling '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*'. These are numbers 259, 364, 437 and 441. In one of these there is the ruling 'extremely *munkar al-Ḥadīth*.' **The second** category are those narrators that al-Bukhārī ruled as being '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*' while also mentioning other terms along with this phrase. This occurs only occasionally; in fact only in 14 biographies. For example in biography number 202, 256 and 71, he said, "They abandoned him, he is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*." In biography number 209, quoting Aḥmad, he said, "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*. There is doubt about him." In biography number 232 and 337, he said, "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*, his *Aḥādīth* are not to be written." In biography number 48, he said, "He is weak, *munkar al-Ḥadīth*." In biography number 54, he said, "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*. Abū Usāmah used to call him a liar." In biography number 86, he said: "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*, °Alī Ibn Ḥujr used to regard him as weak." In biography number 111, he said, "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*, Aḥmad said of

him, 'I regard him as nothing'." In biography number 112, he said, "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*. He is like nothing. He does not even know what a *Ḥadīth* is." In biography number 172, he said, "Sulaymān Ibn Ḥarb abandoned him. He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*." In biography number 267, he said, "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*, Aḥmad was not pleased with him." In biography number 347, he said, "He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth*, Al-Ḥamīdī used to criticise him." These must be looked at bearing in mind the additions that al-Bukhārī wrote in his ruling since they are most likely explanations of what he means by *munkar al-Ḥadīth* regarding them.

In short, al-Bukhārī contradicted the majority of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl* in his usage of this term. It is therefore not appropriate to take his statements in a general sense. Neither should we always take his statements to the logical conclusion that these narrations should not be accepted. For this reason, al-Bukhārī's ruling as presented in 'al-Ḍu'afā'' should not be taken exclusively. Rather, his rulings with regards these narrators in his other works should be examined, such as, 'al-Ḍu'afā' al-Kabīr', 'al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr' and 'al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr'. Also what al-Tirmidhī has quoted from him in 'al-ʿIlal' and what Ibn ʿAdī has quoted in 'al-Kāmil'. After much research, I would argue that the narrators whom al-Bukhārī has ruled as being '*munkar al-Ḥadīth*' can again be divided into four groups, but from another angle. Firstly, those that al-Bukhārī rules as being *munkar al-Ḥadīth* and gave the same ruling in his other books. These can be truly regarded as having their narrations rejected, and hence al-Bukhārī's explanation can be applied here. The second group are those that al-Bukhārī mentioned in other places, giving a different ruling regarding them. Perhaps, here al-Bukhārī went back on his ruling of *munkar al-Ḥadīth* and ruled with a less severe ruling, or he may have changed for a more

severe ruling in *al-Jarḥ*. The third group are those that al-Bukhārī has mentioned only in his book *al-Ḍuʿafā*. These are to be included in the first group. The fourth group are those that al-Bukhārī ruled as being *munkar al-Ḥadīth*, but added the ruling of someone else. These are to be included in the second group.

The ruling regarding a narrator labelled as *munkar al-Ḥadīth*

I have already explained the meaning of the term *munkar*, and hence will not repeat it here. The word *nakārah* is the verbal noun for the root word *nakira*, and thus refers to the characteristic of rejection. *Al-nakārah* may be in the *isnād* or in the *matn* of the *Ḥadīth*, or even both. To determine who is responsible for this *nakārah*, many different narrations must be gathered together and scrutinised. If there is a weak narrator in the *isnād*, the blame is laid upon him, since suspicion points towards him as being responsible for this. If there is more than one weak narrator in the *isnād*, the blame is laid upon the weakest among them. If they are equal in weakness, then there are two methods by which we can determine who is responsible for it. In the first method, we examine the other chains of this *Ḥadīth* from the narrator's teacher, and if we find that this narrator is the only one to mention the *nakārah* then he is blamed for it, without any doubt. If, however, we find that all the students of this teacher have narrated the same *nakārah* as the weak narrator in question, then the blame is laid upon the teacher. In the second method, the narrations from the teachers and students of the two weak narrators in question are examined, to ascertain which of them has more *nakārah* in his other narrations. He will then be blamed for this *nakārah*.

In this book, *al-Du'afā'*, al-Bukhārī used four terms to refer to the *Ḥadīth* of *munkar* narrators. These are; **Firstly**, by saying '‘*indahū* (He possess) *manākīr*'. Al-Bukhārī used this in nine biographies. In numbers 149 and 152 he used this phrase in addition to his statement, “*fīhi naẓar* (There is doubt about him).” Biography number 220 in addition to ruling that his *Ḥadīth* is *mursal*, he mentioned that Aḥmad accused him of lying. In biographies number 222, 230 and 257, in addition to his saying, “*ḥadīthuhū laysa bilqā'im* (His *Ḥadīth* has no base).” In Biographies number 265, 332 and 427, quoting from Aḥmad. This terminology from al-Bukhārī means that this narrator has many *munkar Ḥadīth*, so any *Ḥadīth* he relates needs to be examined. This is stronger than the second term which is mentioned below.

Secondly, by saying '*fī ḥadīthihi b'ad al-manākīr* (In his *Aḥādīth* are some *manākīr*)'. Al-Bukhārī used this term five times in the following biographies. Numbers 4, 63, 148, 198 and 214. This term, like the first term, means that the narrator has some *munkar Ḥadīth* among his narrated *Ḥadīth*, so his *Ḥadīth* need to be looked into. The number of *munkar Ḥadīth* is not as much as in the previous term since he used the word 'some', meaning not all of his *Aḥādīth* are *munkar*, as opposed to saying 'he has *manākīr*' or saying 'there are *manākīr* in his *Aḥādīth*.'

Thirdly, by saying, '*fī ḥadīthihi manākīr* (There are *manākīr* in his *Aḥādīth*)'. Al-Bukhārī used this term 12 times, in biographies 123, 129, 165, 253, 316, 366, 369, 400, 403, 408, 416 and 424. Al-Mu'allimī (1986:42-43) explained the meaning of this term saying, “Usually, if a narrator has this term attributed to him, either definitely or most probably, then he is not regarded to be *thiqah*.” It is as if al-Bukhārī always attributes the root cause for any *nakārah* to this weak narrator, if he

has mentioned this term regarding him. However, there is no way to justify this except by collecting together all the other *asānīd* of this narration and examining them using the method I mentioned earlier.

Fourthly, by saying '*munkar*'. This term is with regards to a specific *isnād* or a specific *Ḥadīth*. He used this term eight times in the following biographies. Numbers 95, 142, 144, 146, 176, 178, 313 and 396. This term is clearer than all the preceding terms. Al-Bukhārī is clearly saying that this *isnād* or *matn* is weak.

2. *Sakatū ʿanhu* (they remained silent about him).

The linguistic meaning of '*sakatū ʿanhu*' is as Ibn Manẓūr (1882: vol. 2:43) argued, "*al-sakt* and *al-sukūt* mean to remain silent." For this reason Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1992:83) argued that, "As for al-Bukhārī's statement, '*sakatū ʿanhu*', it seems that they [meaning the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*] did not raise the objections they had [about this narrator] with regards to *al-Jarḥ* or *al-Taʿdīl*."

The technical meaning of '*sakatū ʿanhu*': al-Bukhārī was famous for his usage of this term, so it is necessary to try to understand what he meant by it. Unfortunately al-Bukhārī himself never explained what he meant by it. He used it in his book '*al-Ḍuʿafā*' 13 times. I have examined the narrators that al-Bukhārī ruled with his statement '*sakatū ʿanhu*' in his book '*al-Ḍuʿafā*', and have found these can be divided into two categories. The first are those who are from the narrators from the six great books of *Aḥādīth*. These are the biographies numbered 5, 13, 77, 189, 320, 356, 359 and 433. The second category are those who do not have narrations in the six books of *Ḥadīth*. These are the biographies numbered 286, 380, 404, 409 and 417.

After my research into the two categories, I have found that the ruling of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl* on these narrators is one of three. Either their *Ḥadīth* should not be accepted at all, or they are habitual liars, or thirdly they have been accused of being liars. All of these rulings on the narrators mentioned above are of a single level of disparagement, except for biography number 77; the biography of Ḥajjāj Ibn Nuṣayr where al-Bukhārī said, "*ba'duḥum sakatū 'anhu* (some of them remained silent about him)." After researching this particular narrator, I have found that most of the scholars did not give the ruling that his *Ḥadīth* should not be accepted. Al-Bukhārī's comment alludes to this. Al-Bukhārī (1986b: vol. 2:380) has likewise made a similar type of comment when he said, "Some of them *yatakallmu fīhī* (spoke against him)." He (1986c: vol. 2:301) also said about him, "*yatakallamun fīhī*." This alludes to the fact that Ḥajjāj Ibn Nuṣayr was not a narrator that should be abandoned. This also shows that the researcher should not rely solely on a single book of al-Bukhārī. Rather he should look at his other books and compare them together. In doing so, one will be able to arrive at al-Bukhārī's final ruling on a particular narrator.

I have already mentioned that some of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* regarded this ruling to mean that al-Bukhārī considered it unacceptable to relate from this narrator. The student of al-Bukhārī, Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 2:243), was among them; after mentioning al-Bukhārī's ruling '*sakatū 'anhu*' regarding Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd al-Khūzī he argued, "Meaning they abandoned him (as a narrator)." Likewise Ibn Kathīr (1995: vol. 1:320) argued that, "If al-Bukhārī says of a particular person '*sakatū 'anhu*' or '*fīhī naẓar* (there is doubt regarding him)', it means that this narrator is of the very lowest and worst level of narrators." Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad

al-Dhahabī (1994:259) likewise explained this in more than one place in his books saying, "He (meaning al-Bukhārī) says with regards to those narrators that are to be abandoned or whose narrations are to be left: '*fihī naẓar*' or '*sakatū anhu*'." Al-Dhahabī (1992:83) also argued that, "With regards to al-Bukhārī's statement '*sakatū anhu*', its apparent meaning is that they did not express their opinions about this narrator, neither disparaging, nor praising him. We have, however come to know that he means by this that they abandoned his narrations." Also, al-Sakhāwī (1992: vol. 2:122) argued that, "Many times al-Bukhārī expresses his rulings using these two expressions '*fihī naẓar*' and '*sakatū anhu*', with regards to the one whose narrations are not accepted." °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (1989: vol. 1:347) and °Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Ḥusain al-°Irāqī (1969:163) along with other contemporary researchers concur with this explanation.

3. Ruling of *al-Tark* (abandoning) of the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator.

This term is fairly common as a term of *al-Jarḥ* that scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl* used. Linguistically its meaning is well known to be 'leaving something' (al-Jawharī, 1984: vol. 4:1577; Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 10:405-406). In the terminology of the *Ḥadīth* scholars, '*tark*' can belong to one of three types. **The first** is abandoning writing any *Ḥadīth* of this narrator. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 2:37) argued that, "When they say, *matrūk al-Ḥadīth* (his *Aḥādīth* are abandoned), *dhāhib al-Ḥadīth* (his *Aḥādīth* are to be left) or habitual liar, it means that he is *sāqit al-Ḥadīth*, his *Aḥādīth* are not to be written down at all." **The second** type of *al-tark* is to abandon narrating the *Ḥadīth* of the narrator. **The third** type of *al-tark* is to abandon relying upon this narrator especially if he is alone in narrating a particular *Ḥadīth*. This type is effectively the same as the second type. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (1988:127) narrated

that Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī claimed that, "A narrator is not considered to have his *Ḥadīth* rejected until everyone agrees to leave his *Ḥadīth*. One may say that such and such is weak, but to say such and such is *matrūk*, can only be achieved through consensus". However, it seems to me that what is meant by the terms *matrūk*, or *turika ḥadīthuhū* (his *Aḥādīth* are abandoned), is that *turika al-iḥtijāj biḥadīthihi* (it is not permissible to rely upon his *Ḥadīth*) or *turika kitābata ḥadīthihi* (writing down his *Ḥadīth* is not permissible). For this reason we must interpret the statement of Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ to refer to the narrator's strength of memory. This is because if he meant that *al-ʿadālah* (uprightness) of the narrator was deficient, then his *Ḥadīth* must be abandoned even without a general agreement of the scholars.

It seems apparent to me, therefore, that what is meant by *al-tark* is something general. It encompasses '*tark al-kitābah* (not writing down the *Ḥadīth*)' and it encompasses '*tark al-riwāyah* (not relating from this narrator)' and '*tark al-iḥtijāj* (not relying upon this narrator)'. This, as Ibn Ṣāliḥ mentioned, is as though the scholars of *Ḥadīth* have all agreed on this matter. It shall be seen that when al-Bukhārī says '*tarakūhu*' it means that the narrator is from this category. As an elaboration I shall mention some of the reasons why the scholars of *Ḥadīth* made *tark* of a *Ḥadīth* of a particular narrator. **The first** is if the narrator generally makes mistakes in his narrations. **The second** is if the narrator lies in his narrations. This has been mentioned in the *Masā'il of al-Marwazī* (1988:222), "I (that is al-Marwazī) asked, 'When is the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator *yutrak* (abandoned)?' He (that is Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal) said, 'If he makes mistakes more often than not.' I asked, 'Equally, if he lies a little or often?' He replied, 'Yes'." **The third** cause is if the narrator uses foul or abusive language. Al-Bukhārī (1986b: vol. 8:91) quotes Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān when

talking about al-Naẓr Ibn Muṭarrif saying, "I heard him saying, 'If I do not relate this *Ḥadīth* to you, then my mother is a fornicator.' So I (meaning Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān) left his *Ḥadīth* due to that." **The fourth** reason is if the narrator fabricated *Ḥadīth* or was accused of fabricating *Ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī ruled (1986a:104) that Muḥammad Ibn Ziyād was *matruk al-Ḥadīth*. He supported his statement by saying that Ibn Ziyād was accused of fabricating *Ḥadīth*. **The fifth** reason is if the narrator is accused of something major, like heresy (al-Bukhārī, 1986a:105).

When giving a ruling of *al-tark* al-Bukhārī uses two methods. The first is that he clearly states that a particular narrator is '*matruk*' or '*matruk al-Ḥadīth*'. This method has been repeated in the book '*al-Ḍuʿafā*' seven times in the following biographies. Numbers 12, 17, 36, 105, 335, 338 and 353. The two statements '*matruk*' and '*matruk al-Ḥadīth*' both carry the same meaning. The second method is that al-Bukhārī relies on the ruling of another scholar of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*. Al-Bukhārī did this in two ways. The first is that he clearly states the name of the scholar he has depended upon. For example, he depended on ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak, Wakīʿ, ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī, Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, Shuʿbah Ibn al-Ḥajjāj and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mahdī. Al-Bukhārī would say for example, "Ibn al-Mubārak *tarakahu* (abandoned him)" or, "Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān *tarakahū*." Al-Bukhārī has used this method 23 times in his book '*al-Ḍuʿafā*' in the following biographies. Numbers 8, 9, 20, 27, 44, 50, 65, 79, 81, 87, 105, 110, 172, 264, 276, 297, 298, 340, 352, 294, 418, 426 and 435. The second way is that he does not specify the name of a particular scholar but instead merely says '*tarakūhu* (they abandoned him)'. He means by this that the scholars of *Ḥadīth* abandoned him. In other words, the personal pronoun refers to the scholars of *Ḥadīth* or the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-*

Ta'ḍīl. This method has been repeated 20 times in his book 'al-Ḍu'afā'' in the following biographies. Numbers 21, 71, 72, 74, 126, 145, 154, 156, 202, 234, 236, 237, 240, 245, 256, 263, 302, 311, 312 and 315.

It seems that al-Bukhārī's statement '*tarakūhu*' is stronger with regards to *al-Jarḥ* than him saying 'so and so *tarakahū* (abandoned him)' for the following reasons. Firstly, in terms of the Arabic language, saying '*tarakūhu*' includes all of the scholars of *Ḥadīth*. It is not like merely saying Ibn al-Mubārak *tarakahu* or Shu'bah *tarakahu*. The first case is as if he is relating the agreement of all the scholars of *Ḥadīth* on this matter. The second case is him merely relating the opinion of a single scholar. Secondly, were he to say so and so *tarakahu*, there is a possibility that this was due to that particular scholar having some doubt about the narrator that is not a necessity when it comes to *al-Jarḥ* (Ibn Taymīyyah, 1995: vol. 24:349-350). Thirdly, the phrase so and so *tarakahū* can be used in a non technical way. For example, 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī said regarding 'Aṭā' Ibn Abī Rabāḥ, "'Aṭā' used to mix-up in his old age. Ibn Jurayj and Qays Ibn Sa'd *tarakahū*.'" Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 5:87) explained this statement saying:

'Alī did not imply the well-known meaning of *tark* by his statement that they (Ibn Jurayj and Qays Ibn Sa'd) *tarakahū*. Rather, he ('Aṭā') had grown old and his senses had weakened. They were content with what they had taken from him prior to that, and had achieved a high level of understanding from him, so they ceased Companionship with him. This is what they meant.

Al-Dhahabī (n.d: vol. 3:70) also argued that, "He did not mean by this *tark* in a technical sense, he meant that they ceased to write *Ḥadīth* from him (due to his mixing-up in old age.)" On researching into the biographies of all those narrators that al-Bukhārī judged as *tarakūhū*, I found that it is as though al-Bukhārī summarises the opinions preceded *Ḥadīth* scholars. So he said *tarakūhū* because they had in fact all agreed that his *Ḥadīth* should be abandoned. Also, when I examined the biographies

of all the narrators about whom al-Bukhārī said the likes of 'Shu'bah *tarakahu*' or 'Ibn al-Mubārak *tarakahu*', I found that, most of the time, the *Ḥadīth* scholars did not agree that their *Ḥadīth* should be abandoned, even though some of them were extremely weak. To avoid unnecessarily lengthening this work, examples of this have not been quoted. Perhaps some researchers will make a study into al-Bukhārī's three usages when giving the ruling of abandoning a particular narrator. The researcher should bear in mind that before quoting one of al-Bukhārī's rulings, he should look at his other works and see what he has said about them.

4. *Nafī al-quwwah* (lack of ability) of a narrator.

'*Nafī al-quwwah*' is one of the terms that al-Bukhārī used in his book '*al-Ḍu'afā'*'. Al-Bukhārī applied this ruling to 17 narrators using four different terms. The first term is '*laysa* (he was not) *bilqawiyy* (strong) *indahum* (in their opinion)'. Al-Bukhārī applied this ruling to 12 narrators which are found in the biographies numbered 101, 151, 158, 182, 228, 233, 243, 248, 268, 271, 322 and 331. The second term is '*laysa* (he was not) *indahum* (in their opinion) *bilqawiyy* (strong)' al-Bukhārī applied this ruling to two narrators, found in the biographies numbered 91 and 92. The third term is '*laysa* (he was not) *bidhālik* (due to that) *al-qawiyy* (strong)'. Al-Bukhārī applied this ruling to two narrators, found in the biographies numbered 179 and 323. The fourth term is '*laysa* (he was not) *bilqawiyy* (strong)'. Al-Bukhārī applied this ruling to two narrators, found in the biographies numbered 326 and 329. What al-Bukhārī means by saying '*indahum* (in their opinion)' is in the regard of the *Ḥadīth* scholars. The meaning of *al-quwwah* (strength) in the terminology of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl* is based in considering the generality of its usage. There is a clear difference between the usage of the term '*al-*

qawiyy' with the article '*al*' that designates a noun to be definite and the term '*qawiyy*' without the article '*al*' that designates a noun to be indefinite. The first negates *quwwah* in totality from that narrator, whereas, the second negates a portion of *quwwah* from this narrator. The second does not necessitate that the narrator is entirely weak. The *Ḥadīth* scholars utilised this term as the least disparaging of the terms of *al-Jarḥ*. I shall mention these in detail after completing the discussion on the terms of *al-Jarḥ*. Al-Bukhārī, however, did not clarify what he meant by this term '*naḥī al-qawwah*'. It seems to me that the meaning that should be derived from *al-quwwah* should stem from its antonym which is *al-da'f* (weakness). So, if the narrator has been declared as '*laysa bilqawiyy*' by the *Ḥadīth* scholars, it must mean, then, that he is weak. For this reason Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1992:83) argued that, "Sometimes al-Bukhārī would say of a person, 'he is not *al-qawiyy*', meaning he is *da'if*". Al-Dhahabī uses the term *da'if* for some of the narrators that al-Bukhārī ruled as. This is because he viewed this ruling of al-Bukhārī as being synonymous to *da'if*. An example of this can be seen in the biography of Kudayr al-Dabī (Al-Dhahabī, n.d: vol. 3:410).

After close examination of the biographies of these narrators, I have noticed that there is in fact no difference in the actual ruling when al-Bukhārī says '*laysa bilqawiyy* *indahum*' and '*laysa* *indahum bilqawiyy*'. This can be seen in the biography of Ḥurayth Ibn Abī Maṭr, numbered 91, in which he said '*laysa* *indahum bilqawiyy*' as is found in the edited version of the text. However in copies (H) and (M) the order of the wording is different; it is quoted as '*laysa bilqawiyy* *indahum*'. Also, in the biography of Ḥibbān Ibn 'Alī, numbered 94, al-Bukhārī said, '*laysa* *indahum bilqawiyy*' and he says in '*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*' (vol. 3:88) '*laysa bilqawiyy*'

'indahum'. As for the term '*laysa bilqawiyy*', it is as though al-Bukhārī himself has decided that this narrator is weak. When he says '*laysa bilqawiyy indahum*' or '*laysa indahum bilqawiyy*', it is as if he is saying the *Ḥadīth* scholars have ruled that this person is weak. Al-Bukhārī uses these terms of *al-Jarḥ* quite frequently in his works. He often refers back to the opinions of the *Ḥadīth* scholars even though he is amongst the greatest of them.

5. *Al-takallum* (speaking) of a narrator and *al-takallum* regarding *Ḥadīth*.

Al-takallum of a narrator is among the terminologies that al-Bukhārī uses in his book '*al-Ḍu'afā'*'. Al-Bukhārī uses seven slightly varying expressions using the term *al-takallum* with regard to either a *Ḥadīth* or a narrator. These variations can be divided into two categories. The first is if he attributes the term *al-takallum* to one of the *Ḥadīth* scholars. So for example he may say, "Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn *takallama fīhī* (spoke against him)" or "al-Ḥumaydī *takallama fīhī*". Al-Bukhārī applied this ruling to the eight biographies numbered 43, 84, 125, 188, 249, 339, 347 and 420. The second category are those that al-Bukhārī did not attribute to any particular *Ḥadīth* scholar. There are many variations of this term as used by al-Bukhārī. For example he said, '*yatakallmūna fīhī* (they spoke against him)' nine times in the biographies numbered 23, 40, 121, 261, 341, 360, 362, 389 and 417. All of these are in the active third person plural. However, there is one biography where the passive form is used. In biography number 107 he said, '*yutakallamu fīhī* (he was spoken against)'. Notice here that al-Bukhārī has not mentioned what they actually said against him.

There are a few points that could be raised concerning a narrator. For example al-Bukhārī used the phrase '*yatakallamūna fī* (they spoke against) *ḥifẓihi* (his memory)'

in two biographies numbered 22 and 133. He also used the term 'yatakallamūna fī (they spoke against) ḥadīthihī (his Ḥadīth)' in a single biography numbered 97. Another example is his statement 'yatakallamūna fī (they spoke against) b'ad ḥadīthihī (some of his Ḥadīth)' which he used for a single biography numbered 99.

After my examination of these narrators, I would argue that al-Bukhārī was extremely eager to abdicate responsibility of calling someone a weak narrator to another scholar. This is the reason he will say 'so and so takallama fīhī' or 'yatakallamūna fīhī'. It is also possible that al-Bukhārī wanted to follow the statements of his predecessors since he himself did not have any knowledge of these particular narrators. So he used this methodology when giving rulings about a narrator. An example of this is when al-Tirmidhī asked al-Bukhārī about Ḥākīm Ibn Jubayr al-Asadī and he said, "lana fīhi naẓar". Al-Tirmidhī then said, "He did not explicitly give a ruling on this narrator." It is clear that the narrators about which he said 'so and so yatakallamu fīhī' or 'yatakallamūna fīhī' are of the level of *ḍa'īf*. These narrators are considered to be the least disparaged and are placed upon either the first or second levels of *al-Jarḥ*. These narrators are those whose *Aḥādīth* are written and are accepted as long as they are supported by other reliable narrators, but their narrations are not considered if they are the only ones who narrated this narration.

It also seems clear to me that when al-Bukhārī says 'yatakallamūna fī ḥifẓihī', that this also places them on the level of *ḍa'īf*. In addition, it seems clear to me that narrators about whom it has been said, 'yatakallamūna fī ḥadīthihī' or 'b'ad ḥadīthihī' are of a higher level than the previous ones, since the criticism has not

been directed against the narrator himself, just the *Ḥadīth* he has narrated. These narrators are of the fifth level as defined by Ibn Ḥajar. Another phrase that al-Bukhārī used was 'yatakallamūna fī (they spoke against) *isnādi ḥadīthihi* (chain of his *Ḥadīth*)'. Al-Bukhārī used this ruling with regard to a single narrator, whose biography is number 411. It was not the narrator, who was a Companion that led Al-Bukhārī to reject it rather the actual problem was the meaning of the words that he narrated. For this reason, al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 30:315) argued that, "In the *isnād* of his *Aḥādīth* are some people who are not known." This shall be discussed in more detail in the section pertaining to the criticisms directed towards al-Bukhārī (see page 199).

6. Declaring a narrator and his *Ḥadīth* to be weak

It is well-known that the meaning of *ḍa'īf* is someone who has not considered criticism from a *Ḥadīth* scholar, yet there is a clear weakness in him, even if the reason for this weakness has not been explained (Ibn Ḥajar, 1996:14). Generally, though, *al-ḍa'īf* is from the first level of *al-Jarḥ* which shall be mentioned later. Al-Bukhārī has used this term in many different forms which I have divided here into two categories.

The first category, is that he attributes this declaration of *ḍa'īf* to a *Ḥadīth* scholar, so for example he may say "*ḍa'afahū* Qutaybah (Qutaybah declared him weak)" or he may say, "*kāna* Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān and [°]Alī *yuḍa'ifuhū* (Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān and [°]Alī used to declared him weak)." The number of biographies where al-Bukhārī used this ruling is 23. He used it in the biographies numbered 10, 15, 16, 40, 58, 59, 67, 70, 72, 119, 157, 192, 215, 241, 247, 272, 281, 282, 319, 383, 387, 414 and 418. These

narrators were declared weak based on the statements of another *Ḥadīth* scholar. This methodology that al-Bukhārī employs is so that he may avoid the responsibility of declaring the narrator weak himself. It may also be possible that al-Bukhārī had no knowledge of this narrator himself, and so relied upon the statements of other *Ḥadīth* scholars. With regards to these narrators, one should return back to the one who declared the narrator weak and examine what he meant by this weakness.

The second category comprises those cases that al-Bukhārī did not rely on any other *Ḥadīth* scholar, but rather gave his own ruling. He did this in three different ways.

The first is if al-Bukhārī says “*ḍa‘īf*”, which he did in three biographies numbered 34, 381 and 439. I have examined the biographies of these three and have found that one must look at al-Bukhārī's other works to see what he actually meant by his declaration. I have found, for example, in the biography of Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abī Sabrah, numbered 439, al-Bukhārī's statement, “*ḍa‘īf*”. However, in *al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr* he says, “*munkar al-Ḥadīth*”. Ibn Ḥajar concluded from the ruling of al-Bukhārī and others, that the *Ḥadīth* scholars “*ramwhu bilwaḍʿ*” (accused him of being a fabricator)” (Ibn Ḥajar, 1996:550) It is my opinion that al-Bukhārī's statement in *al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr* is a plausible explanation for what he said in *al-Duʿafāʾ*. As for biography number 34, al-Bukhārī says regarding Asad Ibn ʿAmr, “He is from Kufa, one of the *ṣāhib raʾī*, he is *ḍa‘īf*.” In some copies there is a addition, “*laysa biḍhālīka ʿindahum* (due to this he does not hold an acceptable position with them).” By al-Bukhārī's statement ‘*ṣāhib raʾī*’, he means, he is a follower of Abū Ḥanīfah's school of jurisprudence. This statement of his is an explanation of why he is weak. In addition, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 2:338) said, “I asked my father about Asad Ibn ʿAmr to which

he replied, 'He was a *sadīq* (truthful narrator), but was from the Companions of Abū Ḥanīfah. One should not relate anything from him'." This weakness is far slighter than the weaknesses that have already been mentioned in the preceding biography numbered 439. As for biography number 381, al-Bukhārī said with regard to the narrator Miswar Ibn al-Ṣalt "*ḍa'īf*". There is an addition by al-Bukhārī in '*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*', "Aḥmad declared him to be *ḍa'īf*" (1986b, vol. 7:411). This addition is an explanation of his statement in '*al-Ḍu'afā'*'. So here is a case of someone who has not considered attestation, yet there is a clear weakness in him, even if the reason for this weakness has not been explained. I can conclude from this discussion that if al-Bukhārī has declared someone to be *ḍa'īf*, then one must look into his other works since in most cases there will be an explanation and will elucidate what is contained in '*al-Ḍu'afā'*'. The levels of these narrators differ since among them are those who have a strong weakness and those that have only a slight weakness.

The second way to state al-Bukhārī own judgment is when he says, "*fīhi ḍa'f* (He has a weakness)." This is only in a single biography, numbered 393, the biography of al-Nuṣayr Ibn Muḥammad al-Marwazī. Here, al-Bukhārī wanted to make a light reprimand. This is of a less reprehensive type than the preceding one. **The third** way is when al-Bukhārī says, "*ḍa'īf jiddan* (extremely weak)." This is used in a single biography, numbered 178, the biography of Ṣadaqah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Samīn, after saying, "There was not a single *marfū' Ḥadīth* he related except that it was *munkar*. He is extremely *ḍa'īf*." In reality Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal had said this before al-Bukhārī in '*al-'Ilal*' (Al-Mizzī; 1994: vol. 13:134). It is quite apparent from his statement that al-Bukhārī intended to declare him extremely weak. This is despite some of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ* contradicting his verdict. An example

being Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's statement: "*maḥalluhū al-ṣidq* (he is truthful), and they only criticized him due to his belief of *qadar*" (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 4:430). Another example is Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 5:118) when he argued that, "From his *Aḥādīth* are those which are supported by other narrations but most of his *Aḥādīth* are not supported. He is closer to *ḍaʿf* than he is to *ṣidq* (truthfulness)." After examining the opinions of the *Ḥadīth* scholars I have come to the opinion that Ṣadaqah Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Muʿāwiyah al-Samīn is *ḍaʿīf* which is the conclusion reached by Ibn Ḥajar (1996:216).

7. *Al-Kadhib* (Lying)

Even though al-Bukhārī can be seen to be quite strict in his disparagement, the statements that he uses cannot outwardly be seen as strong terms of disparagement. I can argue, however, after careful study that al-Bukhārī does indeed intend by these terms of disparagement a strong level of criticism. Among these strong criticisms are to declare a narrator '*kadhhab*' (habitual liar). After studying al-Bukhārī's book I have noted that there are eight places where he has used *kādhīb* to accuse the narrator. In fact he has quoted scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* in this matter. Al-Bukhārī has done this in the biographies numbered 108 quoting Yazīd Ibn Hārūn, 140 quoting Jarīr, 147 quoting his teacher Qutaybah Ibn Saʿīd, 160 and 190 quoting Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, 220 quoting al-Walīd Ibn Muslim and 400 quoting Ishāq Ibn Rāhawayh. There remains a single biography in which al-Bukhārī said, "*yurmā bilkadhib* (he was accused of lying)." It is clear to me that in this specific case this does not necessitate him being a *kādhīb*. He has used the passive tense ascribing this to the scholars of *al-Jarḥ*.

Describing someone as a liar is from the strongest levels of criticism and it is one of the worst levels of *al-Jarḥ*. What is meant by the term *al-kādhīb* is lying with regards to the Prophetic *Ḥadīth* in other words narrating something from the messenger that he did not say, do, and affirm even if he lied but a single time. The *Ḥadīth* of a habitual liar is called '*mawḍū'*', or '*maṣnū'*' or '*mukhtaliq*'.

8. *Laysa bishay'* (He is of no worth)

Of the terms that al-Bukhārī used in his book '*al-Ḍu'afā'*' is *laysa bishay'* which he used four times. The first is in the biography numbered 111 where he quoted Aḥmad as saying, "*laysa bishay'*". Al-Bukhārī's added his own statement, "*munkar al-Ḥadīth*" in the same biography. The term *munkar al-Ḥadīth* has already been explained previously. The second is in the biography numbered 112 where he said, "*munkar al-Ḥadīth, shibh lā shay* (it is as if he is nothing), *lā yadrī malḥadīth* (he does not know what a *Ḥadīth* is)." The third is in the biography numbered 194 where al-Bukhārī quoted Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān saying, "*kāna lā yarāhu shayan* (he does not consider him to be anything)." The fourth is in the biography numbered 387 where he quoted Aḥmad as saying, "*laysa bishay'*". This term is counted as one of the strongest criticisms such that if a narrator was given such a ruling, his narrations would not be accepted if it was the only such narration reported.

9. *Laysa bidhāk* (He is not considered an acceptable narrator)

Of the mild terms that al-Bukhārī used in his book '*al-Ḍu'afā'*' is *laysa bidhāk*. This term means that the narrator has not reached the level of strength in narration that is required by the *ḥuffāẓ*, nor attained the level required by the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-T'adīl*. Sometimes this term is used merely to negate any status from a narrator,

but al-Bukhārī did not use it in this sense. In any case this usage is infrequent. Al-Bukhārī used this term seven times in two different ways. The first is where he himself declares this ruling with regards to a narrator. This is found in the biographies, numbered 55 and 371. He wrote in another of his books '*al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr*' regarding these two biographies, "*laysa bial-qawīyy*". It is also found in the biography numbered 397 where Ibn Ḥajar (1996:497) said with regards to it, "*matrūk*". It is also found in the biographies numbered 410 and 412 where al-Bukhārī said in '*al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr*', "*ḥadīththuhu lā yutāba^c alayh* (his *Aḥādīth* are not to be used to support other narrations)." I argue that by this term al-Bukhārī meant to declare his *Ḥadīth ḍa'īf*. The second way of using this term is when al-Bukhārī quotes a *Ḥadīth* scholar in his verdict. This is found in biography 223 quoting Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān who said, "*kāna wasaṭan* (he was mediocre), *lam yakun bidhāk*, he is not like ʿUthmān Ibn al-Aswad nor like Saif. I prefer Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmr (with regards to narrations)." This is also found in the biography numbered 239 quoting Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān who said, "*kāna wasaṭan* (he was mediocre), *lam yakun bidhāk*." Any narrator who has been given such a ruling is in the first level of disparaging narrators as defined by the *Ḥadīth* scholars. The *Aḥādīth* of such narrators are not relied upon in deriving rulings where these narrators are the only ones who narrated that particular *Ḥadīth*. However, they are written and considered when being used to support other narrations.

10. *Al-Waḍʿ* (Fabrication)

In chapter one I have already explained the meaning of *al-waḍʿ*, its causes and how it began. There are only two narrators in this book who were accused of being fabricators. In these two al-Bukhārī relied on the rulings of other *Ḥadīth* scholars.

The first is the biography numbered 197 where al-Bukhārī quoted Raqabah. The second is the biography numbered 335 where al-Bukhārī quoted °Amr Ibn Zurārah. In the latter biography al-Bukhārī says, “*matrūk al-Ḥadīth*.” Whoever has this ruling applied to him is of the worst level of *al-Jarḥ*. They are those whose *Aḥādīth* are considered fabricated and abandoned and should never be considered in any sense.

11. *Al-Iḥtimāl* (possibility) in *Ḥadīth*

Al-Bukhārī used this term four times in his book ‘*al-Du'afā'*’ with many variations. Firstly, in the biography of °Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Labīd al-Madanī, numbered 193, after accusing him of innovating in divine predestination he said, “*huwa yuḥtamal* (It is possible)”, meaning his narration of the *Ḥadīth* (to be accepted). I will mention his biography in the study of those that criticised al-Bukhārī (see page 219). Secondly, it is used in the biography of °Abd al-Malik Ibn A°yun, numbered 226, after accusing him of being a *Shi'ca* he said, “*yuḥtamal fī al-Ḥadīth* (The *ḥadīth* can be accepted).” I will also mention him in the study of those that criticised al-Bukhārī (see page 223). Thirdly, in the biography of °Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn °Aṭā°, numbered 243, after saying, “*laysa bi al-Qawīy 'indahum*”, he said, “*huwa yuḥtamal*”, meaning the *Ḥadīth*. He also said, “*yuktab ḥadīthuhū*”, It was said to him, ‘*hal yuḥtajju bihi?* (can he be relied upon for narration of *Ḥadīth*?)’ He replied, ‘I hope so except that he used to falsify *munkar Ḥadīth* on the authority of Thawrī and others’” (Ibn Ḥajar, 1984: vol. 6:400). Fourthly, in the biography of Munkadir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Munkadir, numbered 390, after quoting Ibn °Uyanah saying, “*laysa bi al-ḥāfīz* (He was not precise)”, al-Bukhārī said, “*huwa yuḥtamal*”, meaning the *Ḥadīth*. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī said, “He was a righteous man but he did not understand *Ḥadīth* and he also made many mistakes. He did not memorize his father’s *Ḥadīth*” (Ibn Abī Ḥātim,

1952: vol. 8:35). In the first two biographies above, numbers 193 and 226, it seems that the narrators had some innovation, but they did not propagate it, nor were they major leaders of that innovation. Either this, or the narrator has some *munkar* narrations, but these did not reach an extreme level as in biography numbered 390. Neither did they greatly outnumber his acceptable narrations, as in the case of biography numbered 243.

12. *Taʿrifu* (you know) and *tunkir* (you reject)

The *Ḥadīth* scholars have used this in two ways. **The first** *taʿrifu* (you know) and *tunkir* (you reject). **The second** is in the passive form, *tuʿraf* (he is known) and *tunkar* (he is rejected) (al-Muʿallamī, 1986:143). Al-Bukhārī used this expression twice in his book 'al-Ḍuʿafā'. The first is in biography numbered 229, the biography of ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Qudāmah Ibn Mūsā. The second is in biography numbered 399, the biography of Najīḥ Abī Maʿshar al-Sindī quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mahdī. Al-Bukhārī said of him, "*munkar al-Ḥadīth*." This term means that the researcher should know if this *Ḥadīth* agrees with authentic *Aḥādīth* and he should reject those *Aḥādīth* that are singular or contradict the authentic *Ḥadīth*.

13. *Dhāhib al-ḥadīth* (His *Aḥādīth* are not considered)

This is one of the strong terms of disparagement that al-Bukhārī uses in his book 'al-Ḍuʿafā'. However he only used it once in 'al-Ḍuʿafā' in the biography of ʿUmar Ibn al-Ḥakam al-Hudhalī, numbered 258. Whoever has this said about him is from the worst levels of weak narrators; his *Aḥādīth* are not considered.

14. Narration of *A'ājīb* (peculiarities)

Al-Bukhārī used this term twice. The first in the biography of °Umar Ibn Qays, numbered 262, after quoting Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān. In the same biography al-Bukhārī said, “*munkar al-Ḥadīth*.” The second is in the biography of °Abd al-Wahīd Ibn Qays, numbered 238, again quoting Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān, saying, “al-Ḥasan Ibn Dhakwān used to relate peculiarities from him.” Perhaps the reason for this wording is to stay away from the narrations of someone who has been disparaged with this term. This is because of two reasons, firstly due to his mistakes and carelessness, similar to that which is found in the biography of °Abd al-Wahīd Ibn Qays. Secondly, due to the *nakārah* in his *Ḥadīth*, as occurs in the biography of °Umar Ibn Qays.

15. *Sū' al-Ḥifẓ* (Bad memory)

When the *Ḥadīth* scholars say “so and so is a *ḥāfiẓ*” it may mean one of many things. Sometimes it means that he is exact and precise even if he does not have many narrations. Sometimes they mean that he is a “sea of knowledge” when it comes to narrations even if he is not strong. Sometimes they mean both. So, based upon this when the *Ḥadīth* scholars say “so and so is not a *ḥāfiẓ*” they can mean the negation of any of these meanings. Negating some of the above characteristics does not detract from his strength. In any case the *Ḥadīth* scholars use the term “he is not a *ḥāfiẓ*” for the one who makes mistakes and is careless. In the same way al-Bukhārī used this term four times in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*’. Firstly, al-Bukhārī said in the biography of Ash'ath Abū al-Rabī' al-Sammān, numbered 30, “*wa laysa bi al-ḥāfiẓ 'indahum* (He is not a *ḥāfiẓ* in their consideration).” Secondly, al-Bukhārī said the same in the biography of Sulmā Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, numbered 162. Thirdly, al-Bukhārī said in

the biography of Munkadir Ibn Muḥammad, numbered 390, “*lam yakun bial-ḥāfiẓ, wa huwa yuḥtamal* (he is not a *ḥāfiẓ*, but may be accepted).” Fourthly, al-Bukhārī said in the biography of Ishāq Ibn Yahyā, numbered 22, “*yatakallamūn fī ḥifẓihī, wa yuktab ḥadīthahū* (they criticised his memory, but his *Aḥādīth* are to be written).” Whoever has this said about him then he is from the lightest level of criticism; those whose *Aḥādīth* are written and considered, but not if he is the only source of a narration.

16. ‘*Adam al-Mutāba‘ah*’ (Not to be followed)

Al-Bukhārī used many variations of this term in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*’. The first is “*lā yutāba‘ alā ḥadīthihi* (his *Aḥādīth* are not to be followed)”. This is in the biography of Ḥurayth Ibn Abī Ḥurayth, numbered 90. I shall mention him in the study of those narrators who criticised al-Bukhārī (see page 225). The second variation “*lā yutāba‘ fī ḥadīthihi* (his *ḥadīth* are not to be followed)”. This is used in the biography of Sa‘īd Ibn Zūn, numbered 136, and the biography of ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Ajlān, numbered 195. The third variation is “*lam yutāba‘ alayhi* (it is not to be followed, meaning a particular *Ḥadīth*)”, mentioned in the biography of Ḥājib, numbered 93, and the biography of Ḥashraj Ibn Nubātah, numbered 100. The fourth variation is “*lā yutāba‘ alayhi* (it is not to be followed, meaning a particular *Ḥadīth*)” mentioned in the biography of Ḥawṭ, numbered 95, and in the biography of Ṣafwān Ibn al-Aṣam, numbered 176. After carefully studying this term, it became clear to me that al-Bukhārī only mentions this with regards to a specific *Ḥadīth* or alludes to a specific *Ḥadīth*. I have mentioned these *Aḥādīth* in the footnotes of the aforementioned biographies in the edited version of the manuscript. Al-Bukhārī has utilized these terms many times, especially in his book *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*. With

reference to the Masters dissertation of °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāyī° entitled "A study and verification of the *Ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī categorized as *lā yutāba*° 'alayhi'" and also some of the books of Ṭāriq °Iwaḍ, they contain all the *Aḥādīth* that al-Bukhārī has given this ruling to in all of his books. In reality though, it is very difficult to give narrators of this category a specific ruling. One must look to what al-Bukhārī has said of these narrators in his other written works in addition to what the other *Ḥadīth* scholars have said of these narrators to come to a conclusive ruling.

17. *Layyin* (Soft)

This term is almost exclusively used to refer to the actual narrator. Rarely, however, it can be used to refer to the actual *Ḥadīth* as occurs in biography numbered 161. Ḥamzah Ibn Yūsuf al-Sahmī said, "I asked Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī, 'When you say 'so and so is *layyin*', what do you mean?' He replied, 'That person's *Aḥādīth* are not *sāqiṭ* nor is he *matrūk al-Ḥadīth*, rather he has been criticised with something that does not take him out of the station of °*adālah* (uprightness).'" Al-Bukhārī used this term five times in his book 'al-Ḍu'afā'. **Firstly**, in the biography of Ayyūb Ibn °Utbah, numbered 26, where he said, "He is *layyin* in their view." **Secondly**, in the biography of Salāmah Ibn Qaṣīr al-Ḥaḍramī, numbered 161, where he said, "His *Ḥadīth* is *layyin* from an angle." Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī said in 'al-*Tārīkh al-Kabīr*' regarding this narrator, "His *Aḥādīth* are not authentic." In this case al-Bukhārī means the *Ḥadīth* itself, as I have discussed in the footnotes of his biography from the book 'al-Ḍu'afā' (see page 58). **Thirdly**, in the biography of Ṣāliḥ Ibn Abī al-Akhḍar, numbered 168, where he said, "*layyin*." **Fourthly**, in the biography of Ṭalḥah Ibn °Amr, numbered 180, he says, "He is *layyin* in their view." **Lastly** in the biography of °Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Ḥabīb numbered 247, he says, "*layyin*

al-Ḥadīth. Aḥmad declared him weak.” It seems to me that al-Bukhārī himself gave the ruling in biographies numbered 168 and 247, but relied on the rulings of other *Ḥadīth* scholars in biographies numbered 26 and 180 by using the term “in their view”. I have already discussed al-Bukhārī's methodology in this matter (see p 167). Either it is to escape making the ruling on the person himself, or it is because he himself had not passed a ruling on this narrator, and so relied on the rulings of other *Ḥadīth* scholars.

18. ‘Adam qiyām Ḥadīth al-Rāwī (The Ḥadīth of this narrator is not acceptable on it's own).

Al-Bukhārī used four variations of this term in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*’. **The first variation** is “*ḥadīthuhu laysa bial-qā'im* (his *Ḥadīth* is not acceptable).” This usage is the most frequent and has been used six times. The first, in the biography of Ḥuṣayn, numbered 82. Al-Bukhārī said in his book ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*’, “*ḥadīthuhu laysa fī wajhin ṣaḥīḥ* (his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic in any way).” The second, in the biography of Durūst Ibn Ziyād numbered 113. The third, in the biography of Shihāb numbered 164. The fourth in the biography of Sharqī al-Ju'fī numbered 166. The fifth, in the biography of °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sannah numbered 208. This biography shall be mentioned in the section pertaining to those narrators for whom al-Bukhārī was criticised since this narrator was a Companion (see page 210). Lastly, in the biography of Yaḥyā Ibn °Uthmān numbered 419 about whom al-Bukhārī said in ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*’, “*lam yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhu* (his *Aḥādīth* are not authentic).” After close examination of these biographies I can infer that this term can refer to one of three cases. It most frequently refers to a single *Ḥadīth* as is the case in the biographies numbered 164, 166 and 208. It may sometimes refer to a couple of *Aḥādīth*, as

occurs in the biography numbered 419. It may even refer to many *Aḥādīth*, as occurs in the biography numbered 113. **The second variation** is “*ḥadīthuhu laysa biqā'im* (his *Ḥadīth* is not acceptable).” without the definite article ‘al’. This has only been used in the biography of ‘Abd al-Khabīr numbered 257 where al-Bukhārī added, “*indahū manākīr* (he has *manākīr*).” However, in the copies (H) and (M) of the manuscript there is the addition of the missing definite article ‘al’, in other words, they say “*ḥadīthuhu laysa bi al-qā'im* (his *Ḥadīth* is not acceptable)”. It seems clear to me that al-Bukhārī's usage of this second term is in reference to a single *Ḥadīth*, as has been explained by ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Adī (1997: vol. 7:51). **The third variation** is “*ḥadīthuhu laysa bi mustaqīm* (his *Ḥadīth* is not acceptable).” This is used only once in the biography of Ḥusain Ibn Abī Sufyān numbered 78 about whom he said in ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*’, “*ḥadīthuhu fīhi naẓar* (there is doubt in his *Ḥadīth*).” **The fourth variation** is “*lam yaqum ḥadīthuhu* (his *Ḥadīth* is not acceptable).” which is used in the biography of Khālīd Ibn Muḥammad numbered 106. As I have explained when discussing term 16, ‘*adam al-mutāba‘ah*’, it is clear to me that a definite ruling cannot be derived from examining these terms on their own. The researcher must study all of al-Bukhārī's books to see what he has said about these narrators, then look to see what other *Ḥadīth* scholars say about them to truly find out what their ruling is.

19. ‘Adam Ma‘rifati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī (not having knowledge of the ḥadīth of a narrator).

Despite his wide knowledge and strong memorisation al-Bukhārī was still unaware of some narrators. Al-Bukhārī used three terms in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*’ to express his lack of knowledge of a *Ḥadīth* narrators. **The first** is “*ḥadīthuhu laysa bial-*

ma'rif (his *Ḥadīth* is not known).” which is used once in the biography of Ayyūb Ibn Wāqid numbered 29 where he added, “He is *munkar*” By combining these two terms, al-Bukhārī has shown us that a narrator that has this said of him is extremely weak. **The second** term is “*laysa bima'rif al-Ḥadīth* (he is not known for narrating *Ḥadīth*)” which is used once in the biography of al-Ḥārith Ibn Shibl numbered 60. What is meant by this is that he narrates *Ḥadīth* that have not been narrated by anyone else. The likes of this have been quoted by ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Adī (1997: vol. 2:463). **The third** term is “*lā yu'raf* (he is not known)” which is used in the biography of Sa‘īd Ibn Dhī La‘wah numbered 134 about whom al-Bukhārī said, “*yukhālīf al-nās fī ḥadīthihi* (he contradicts other narrators with his *Ḥadīth*).” Al-Bukhārī implies by this that he is *majhūl* (unknown), as he said in, ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*’ (1986c: vol. 1:334), “*huwa majhūl lā yu'raf* (he is unknown).” Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ali al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1972:149) has defined ‘*majhūl*’ by saying, “Who is not well known for being student of knowledge by the scholars of *Ḥadīth* and neither did the scholars know of him or that he was only known through a single narrator.”

20. ‘*Adam Ṣiḥati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī* (a narrator’s *Ḥadīth* not being authentic)

Al-Bukhārī used many different terms to refer to this category in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*’, **the first** being “*lam yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhu* (his *Aḥādīth* are not authentic)”. Al-Bukhārī used this term 13 times in the biographies numbered 31, 38, 85, 92, 109, 153, 205, 211, 239, 279, 284, 407 and 421. **The second** term is “*lā yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhu* (his *Aḥādīth* are not authentic)”, which was used eight times in the biographies numbered 57, 132, 175, 204, 212, 270, 307 and 321. **The third** term is “*lā yaṣiḥ* (It is not authentic)”, which was used four times in the biographies numbered 142, 219, 290 and 327. **The fourth** term is “*lam yaṣiḥ* (It was not authentic)”, which was used

three times in the biographies numbered 207, 218 and 375. **The fifth** term is “*ḥadīthuhu laysa min wajhin ṣaḥīḥ* (his *Aḥādīth* are not narrated from any authentic chain)”, which was used in the biographies numbered 150 and 163. **The sixth** term is “*lam yaṣīḥ isnādu ḥadīthihi* (the chains of narration for his *Aḥādīth* are not authentic)”, which is used in the biography numbered 185. **The seventh** term is “*lā yu'rafu lahu samā'un ṣaḥīḥ* (he is not known to have authentically narrated from his teachers)”, which was used in the biography numbered 184. It seems apparent to me after careful analysis of these biographies that al-Bukhārī is referring to specific narrations from these narrators which were not authentic in his opinion. Al-Bukhārī does not refer to the actual narrator when he makes this statement, rather to the actual narration. This is apparent since some of the narrators mentioned previously are severely weak, and some only slightly weak. In addition there are those that are entirely trustworthy and those that are actually Companions of the Prophet. I shall mention some of these biographies in the study of those narrators for whom al-Bukhārī was criticised in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*’. It also seems that there is in fact no real difference between the many different terms used. They all mean the same thing, which is that the chain of narration for the mentioned *Ḥadīth* is not authentic. This is in the overwhelming majority of cases even though it is possible that the actual text is not authentic in addition.

21. *Nafyu al-Thiqah 'an al-Rāwī* (negating the reliability of a narrator)

Al-Bukhārī used two terms in this regard. The first in the biography of Maḥdī Ibn Hilāl, biography numbered 382, where al-Bukhārī quoted Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān who argued that, “*ghayru thiqah* (he is not reliable).” He also said in the biography of Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Laythī, biography numbered 346, “*laysa bidhālīka al-*

thiqah (he has not attained an acceptable level of reliability).” It seems that negating the reliability of the narrator here must mean that he is weak.

22. *Ṣadūq* (truthful)

If a narrator has been described as *ṣadūq*, it means that his *Aḥādīth* are to be accepted. This is the level of *Ḥadīth* described as *Ḥasan*. Despite this al-Bukhārī mentioned three narrators in his book 'al-Ḍu'afā'' describing them as *ṣadūq*. I can explain this in one of two ways. Either al-Bukhārī was unjustly strict with regard to these three, or al-Bukhārī criticised them because of something they innovated in the religion. In fact al-Bukhārī criticized these three with *irjā'*. This in and of itself is unfairly strict because if this person is *ṣadūq*, why mention him in this book 'al-Ḍu'afā''. These three narrators are Ayyūb Ibn 'Āi'd in biography numbered 25, where he said, “*kāna yarā al-irjā' wa huwa ṣadūq* (he used to have the view of *irjā'*, and is truthful).” The second is, Dharr Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī in the biography numbered 115, where al-Bukhārī said, “*huwa ṣadūq fī al-Ḥadīth* (he is truthful in *Ḥadīth*).” The third is, Ṭalq Ibn Ḥabīb in the biography numbered 183, where al-Bukhārī said, “*kāna Ṭalq yarā al-irjā' wa huwa ṣadūq fī al-Ḥadīth* (Ṭalq used to have the view of *irjā'*, and he is truthful with regard to *Ḥadīth*).” I shall mention all these narrators in the study of those narrators due to whom al-Bukhārī was criticised (see p 221).

23. 'Adam *Thubūt Ḥadīth al-Rāwī* (the *Ḥadīth* of this narrator being inauthentic)

Al-Bukhārī gave the following ruling to five narrators, “*lam yathbut ḥadīthuhu* (his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic).” These narrators are Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad al-Taymī in the biography numbered 7, Rabī' Ibn Mālik in the biography numbered 116, 'Ubaid

Allāh Ibn ʿIkrah in the biography numbered 224, ʿUqbah Ibn Bashīr in the biography numbered 289 and ʿĀṣim Ibn ʿAmr al-Nakhaʿī in the biography numbered 295. The last narrator is among those narrators that al-Bukhārī was criticised for. This is similar to the previously mentioned category “ʿAdamu Ṣiḥati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī”, in that al-Bukhārī is referring to a specific set of Ḥadīth and chains, that were not authentic in his opinion. I have detailed these biographies in the footnotes of the edited version of the manuscript of the book ‘al-Ḍu'afā’’. It should be reiterated that al-Bukhārī is not referring to the actual narrator here. One should refer to his other written works in addition to the books of other Ḥadīth scholars for clarification on the actual ruling.

24. Al-Waham (doubt)

Al-Waham means a mistake made in the course of seeking what is correct. The Ḥadīth scholars used it to mean a mistake, whether it occurred frequently or infrequently. For this reason, it is not possible to derive an exact ruling on any particular narrator from this term only. If a narrator habitually made such mistakes, he would be referred to by another Ḥadīth term, such as “*laysa bishay*” or “*matrūk*”. If, however, a narrator made mistakes, but these mistakes were not common-place, then it cannot be inferred that such a narrator had been disparaged, especially if he had narrated a large number of Ḥadīth. Al-Bukhārī did not use this term often, and when he did use it, he usually added another term with it. In the book ‘al-Ḍu'afā’’ he used it three times. **Firstly**, in the biography of Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismāʿīl, biography numbered 1, where al-Bukhārī said, “*yurwā ʿanhu wa huwa kathīr al-waham* (He is narrated from, but he has lots of doubts).” Al-Bukhārī deemed him *ḍaʿīf*. He then said, “*yuktabu ḥadīthahu* (His *Aḥādīth* are to be written).” This being when he is

supported by other narrations, not when he stands alone. **Secondly**, he also used this term in the biography of Zāfir Ibn Sulaymān, biography numbered 131, where he said, “*‘indahū marāsīl wa waham, wa huwa yuktabu ḥadīthahu* (He has many *mursal Ḥadīth* and doubts, but his *Aḥādīth* are to be written).” This narrators case is like the preceding one; his *Aḥādīth* are written because his mistakes were not severe. Again this writing is only when he has other narrations supporting him, not when he stands alone. **Thirdly**, the term *al-waham* is used in the biography of ‘Abbād Ibn Rāshid, biography numbered 235, where al-Bukhārī said, “*yahimu al-shay’* (He sometimes makes mistakes)”. ‘Abbād Ibn Rāshid is one of the narrators of al-Bukhārī’s *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* and I will mention him in the study of those narrators because of whom al-Bukhārī has been criticised (see p 195).

25. *Al-Mukhālafah* (contradiction) in *Ḥadīth*

Al-Mukhālafah occurs when a narrator narrates something that contradicts what his peers have narrated. If the narrator who makes the contradiction is someone who is trustworthy, then this does not affect his trustworthiness in any way. If his contradictions are many, however, this will affect his reliability, even if he is trustworthy. Al-Bukhārī did not use this term often in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*’, in fact he used it only twice. **Firstly**, in the biography of Dhawwād Ibn ‘Ulbah, biography numbered 114, where he said, “*yukhālifu fī ba‘ḍ ḥadīthihi* (Some of his *Aḥādīth* are contradictory).” Here al-Bukhārī has plainly said that only a few of his *Aḥādīth* are contradictory, not all of them. Similarly, al-Dāraqutnī argued that, “There is weakness in some of his *Ḥadīth*.” Also, Ibn ‘Adī (1997: vol. 2:26) argued that, “All of the *Ḥadīth* he narrated are *gharīb*. On the whole he is considered a weak narrator, but from amongst those whose *Aḥādīth* are written.” Meaning, when supported by

other narrations. **The second** instance when al-Bukhārī used this term is in the biography of Sa'īd Ibn Dhī La'wah, biography numbered 134, where he said, “*yukhālifu al-nās fī ḥadīthihi, lā yu'raf* (He contradicts other narrators in his *Ḥadīth*. He is unknown).” Al-Bukhārī said in ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*’, “*huwa majhūl, lā yu'raf* (He is unknown).” So compounded by the fact that he contradicts other narrators, he is also unknown. Al-Bukhārī also said in the biography of Muḥammad Ibn Thābit al-°Abdī, biography numbered 330, “*fī ḥadīthī shay'* (There is weakness in his *Ḥadīth*)”. Al-Bukhārī means by this that he contradicts other narrators with his *Ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī shows this by producing a narration of Muḥammad Ibn Thābit al-°Abdī on the subject of *al-Tayammum* (dry ablution), then he mentions those whom he has contradicted.

26. °Adam Kitābatī *Ḥadīth al-Rāwī* (Refraining from writing down the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator)

What is meant here is that the *Ḥadīth* should not be written down with the intent of using it as a stand-alone evidence, nor should it be used as a supporting evidence for other narrations. Al-Bukhārī used this term three times, each time using it in conjunction with other terms. Firstly, in the biography of °Abd al-°Azīz Ibn °Imrān, biography numbered 232, where he said, “*munkar al-Ḥadīth lā yuktab ḥadīthahu*. (His *Aḥādīth* are *munkar*. His *Aḥādīth* are not to be written down).” Secondly, in the biography of Muḥammad Ibn Zādhān, biography numbered 337, he said, “*munkar al-Ḥadīth lā yuktab ḥadīthahu*.” I have already discussed the meaning of the term *munkar* in the context of *Ḥadīth*. Thirdly, in the biography of Muḥammad Ibn Marwān al-Kūfī, biography numbered 359, al-Bukhārī said, “*sakatū °anhu. lā yuktab ḥadīthahu albatta*. (They remained silent about him. His *Aḥādīth* are never to be

written down).” I have already discussed the meaning of the term ‘*sakatū ʿanhu*’ (see p 160). In short, it seems to me that this term, ‘*ʿAdam Kitābatī Ḥadīth al-Rāwī*’, is from amongst the strongest terms of disparagement in the context of *Ḥadīth* and a narrator described as such will not have his narrations accepted.

27. *Kitābatu Ḥadīth al-Rāwī* (Writing down the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator)

This term is the exact opposite of the previous one. In this case the narrator may be weak, but despite this fact, his *Aḥādīth* are still to be written. It must be understood that there is a great difference between writing down the *Ḥadīth* of a weak narrator and narrating such a *Ḥadīth*. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī (1987: vol. 1:384) argued that,

There is a clear difference between writing down the *Ḥadīth* of a weak narrator and narrating such a *Ḥadīth*. The *Ḥadīth* scholars used to write down the *Ḥadīth* of weak narrators so that they could know of them; They did not, however, narrate such *Ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī mentioned five narrators which he described by this term, sometimes mentioning another term in conjunction with it. **Firstly**, in the biography of Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismāʿīl, biography numbered 1, he added to this term, “*yurwa ʿanhu, wa huwa kathīr al-waham*. (He is narrated from but he has many doubts)”. **Secondly**, in the biography of Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, biography numbered 18, he added a quote from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mahdī that they refrained from narrating from him. **Thirdly**, in the biography of Isḥāq Ibn Yaḥyā, biography numbered 22, he added, “*yatkallamūna fī ḥifẓihi* (They speak about his memory).” **Fourthly**, in the biography of al-Ḥakam Ibn Sinān, biography numbered 69, he did not add anything to this term. This narrator is one of those due to whom al-Bukhārī has been criticised. **Fifthly**, in the biography of Zāfir Ibn Sulaymān, biography

numbered 131, he added, “*‘indahū marāsīl wa waham, wa lākin ḥadīthahu yuktab* (He has an *Aḥādīth mursalah* and doubt. However, his *Aḥādīth* are to be written).”

28. ‘Adamu al-Riwayati ‘an al-Rāwī (Refraining from narrating on the authority of a narrator)

This is one of those terms that al-Bukhārī used in his book ‘*al-Ḍu'afā'*, when quoting the ruling of another *Ḥadīth* scholar. He used it four times. **Firstly**, in the biography of Rabī' Ibn Ṣubayḥ, biography numbered 118, where he said, “*kāna Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān lā yuḥaddīthū ‘anhu* (Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān did not use to narrate *Ḥadīth* from him).” **Secondly**, in the biography of Salām Ibn Abī Khubzah, biography numbered 157, where he said, “*ḍa'afahu Qutaibah jiddan, wa lam yuḥaddīth ‘anhu* (Qutaibah regarded him as extremely weak and did not narrate from him).” **Thirdly**, in the biography of Muḥammad Ibn Sulaim, biography numbered 342, he said, “*kāna Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd lā yarwī ‘anhu, wa Ibn Mahdī yarwī ‘anhu* (Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd did not use to narrate from him. Ibn Mahdī, however, did).” **Lastly**, in the biography of Mujālīd Ibn Sa'īd, biography numbered 387, where he said, “*kāna Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān yuḍā'ifahu, wa kāna Ibn Mahdī lā yarwī ‘anhu* (Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān regarded him as weak. Ibn Mahdī did not use to narrate from him).” It seems that this term is less severe than the term ‘*Adam kitābati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī*'. This is because the term ‘*Adam kitābati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī*' implies that the *Ḥadīth* should not be written down with the intent of using it as a self-sufficient evidence, nor should it be used as a supporting evidence for other narrations. However, the term ‘*Adamu al-Riwayati ‘an al-Rāwī*' means that his *Aḥādīth* are not to be used as evidence, but they may be written down, merely to know of it. This term is also from among the severe terms when disparaging a narrator.

29. *Iḍṭirāb Ḥadīth al-Rāwī* (Inconsistency in the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator)

Al-Bukhārī used this term twice in his book *al-Ḍu'afā'*. **Firstly**, in the biography of Mughīrah Ibn Ziyād, biography numbered 367, where he said, “*fī ḥadīthihi Iḍṭirāb* (There are inconsistencies in his *Ḥadīth*).” He said this quoting other scholars of *Ḥadīth*. I shall mention Mughīrah Ibn Ziyād in the section pertaining to those narrators because of whom al-Bukhārī has been criticised. **Secondly**, in the biography of Mihrān Ibn Abī ‘Umar, biography numbered 385, where he said, “*fī ḥadīthihi Iḍṭirāb*.” Inconsistencies could occur in the chain or they could occur in the actual text. Al-Sakhāwī (1992: vol. 1:274) defined an inconsistent *Ḥadīth* as “one that has many different textual versions narrated of it, and these different versions cannot be reconciled in any way”. Inconsistencies of this manner in a *Ḥadīth* mean that the *Ḥadīth* is weak, since it clearly shows that the narrators were not precise when narrating.

30. *Al-Nazar fī al-Rāwī aw fī Ḥadīthihi* (Weakness in a narrator or in his *Ḥadīth*)

Al-Bukhārī used this term in two ways. **The first** is that he directed the ruling at a particular narrator by saying the like of “*fīhi Naẓar* (There is *naẓar* in him).” Linguistically this means that this narrator requires an examination and consideration of his condition. Generally this term implies some kind of disparagement of the truthfulness of a particular narrator as al-Mu‘alimī (1986: vol. 1:205) has mentioned. This term has been used nine times in the book *al-Ḍu'afā'*. First, in the biography of Ishaq Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kūfī, numbered 23, in addition to saying, “*yatakallamūna fīhi*.” Second, in the biography of Salamah Ibn al-Faḍl, numbered 152, in addition to saying, “*lākin ‘indahū manākīr* (But he has *manākīr*).” Third, in the biography of ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāifī, numbered 200. Fourth, in the biography of

°Abd Allāh Ibn Ya°mar, numbered 206. Fifth in the biography of °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ishāq Ibn al-Ḥārith, numbered 209, quoting from Aḥmad, “*huwa munkar al-Ḥadīth. fīhi naẓar.*” Sixth, in the biography of °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Salmān, numbered 216. Seventh, in the biography of °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn °Aṭā°, numbered 217 and eighth in the biography of °Amr Ibn Dīnār, numbered 274. He said in *al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*, “*lā yutāba°u fī ḥadīthihi.*” Ninth, in the biography Qutbah Ibn al-°Alā° Ibn al-Minhāl, numbered 322, in addition to saying, “*laysa bilqawīyy °indahum.*” Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī said “if al-Bukhārī said of someone ‘*fīhi naẓar*’, he means that the narrator is not trustworthy and that he is the worst level of *ḍa°f*.” This is what al-Dhahabī understood from his research into the meaning of this term.

The second type is that he says of a particular *Ḥadīth*, “*fī ḥadīthihi naẓar.*” Al-Mu°alimī (1986: vol. 1:205) argued that, “His statement ‘in his *Ḥadīth* is *naẓar*’ alludes to the fact that he himself is a trustworthy narrator, and that the doubt in his *Ḥadīth* is only due to something done unawares or due to weak memory.” The term is used by al-Bukhārī in his book *al-Ḍu°afā°* five times. It is used in the biography of Ismā°īl Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bajlī, numbered 14, in the biography of Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Niṣṭās, numbered 24. In the biography of Khalīfah Ibn Qais, numbered 109, he added to this term, “*lam yaṣīḥ ḥadīthuhu.*” It is also used in the biography of Suwaid Ibn °Abd al-°Azīz al-Dimashqī, numbered 155, where he said, “*fī ḥadīthihi naẓar lā yuḥṭamal* (his *Ḥadīth* has *naẓar* that cannot be excused).” It is again used in the biography of Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh, biography numbered 345. Al-Bukhārī said regarding this narrator in *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, after quoting his *Ḥadīth*, “*lam yutāba° °alayh.*”

31. Miscellaneous terms used in disparagement

Al-Bukhārī used other terms when disparaging narrators, some particular to him and others he quoted from *Ḥadīth* scholars of his time and from those that preceded him. I shall mention a few examples of these terms. **The first** is in the biography of Abān Ibn Abī °Ayyāsh, numbered 33, where he said, “*kāna Shu°bah sayyi° al-ra°ya fihi* (Shu°bah used to hold a bad opinion of him).” **The second** is in the biography of Khaṣīb Ibn Jahdr, numbered 107, where he said, “*wasta°dā °alyhi Shu°bah fi al-Ḥadīth* (Shu°bah used to incite against him with regard to *Ḥadīth*).” **The third** is in the biography of Rushdīn Ibn Sa°d, numbered 124, where he said, quoting Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, “*kāna lā yubālī mā dufi° ilayhi fayaqra°uhu* (he used to read all that was given him, without a care).” **The fourth** is in the biography of °Amr Ibn Shu°aib, numbered 275, where he said, quoting Abī °Amr Ibn al-°Alā°, “*kāna Qatāda wa °Amr Ibn Shu°aib lā yu°abu °alyhimā shay°un illā annahumā kānā lā yasma°āni shay°an illā ḥaddathā bihi* (no criticism could be made of Qatādah and °Amr Ibn Shu°aib, except that whatever they heard, they narrated).” **The fifth** is in the biography of °Imrān al-Qaṭṭān, numbered 288, quoting Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, “*lam yakun bihi ba°sun. lam yakun min ahl al-Ḥadīth. wa katabtu °anhu ashyā° faramaytu bihā* (there was no serious criticism made of him. Neither was he from the people who were familiar with *Ḥadīth*. I wrote a few *Aḥādīth* from him but then later discarded them).” **The sixth** is in the biography of al-Walīd Ibn Muḥammad, numbered 403, where he quoted Alī Ibn Ḥujr saying, “*kathīru al-ghalaṭ wa kāna lā yaqra°u min kitāb fa°idhā dufi°a ilayhi kitābun qara°ahu* (he made many mistakes. He did not use to quote from a book, but if one was given to him, he would read from it)”. I argue that unlike the previous terms, these miscellaneous terms cannot be given a general

meaning. Rather each has to be taken individually and researched to determine what is actually meant.

Conclusion

I have examined all the terms that al-Bukhārī uses in his disparagement of narrators, and in doing so have found that al-Bukhārī is from amongst those critics who have consistent principles in the practice of disparagement. However, as the terms he used number over 150, I have categorised them into 31 groups based upon similarity in meaning, which I have then explained linguistically and semantically. I have then tried to ascertain al-Bukhārī's intent by his use of these terms by studying these biographies and by comparing al-Bukhārī's statements against the statements of other scholars of *Ḥadīth*. Thus, I utilised the explanations of earlier researchers as well as the works of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* where they have expounded the meanings of these terms.

I would now argue that all these terms may be more broadly classified into just three categories. The first consists of those terms that can be completely understood from just their linguistic meaning. For example, the term *matrūk*. The second consists of those terms that can only be understood when al-Bukhārī or his close students explicitly explain what is meant by them. For example the term *sakatū* 'anhu. The third consists of those terms which can only be understood after careful examination and study of the terms themselves and their usage by al-Bukhārī and other *Ḥadīth* scholars. For example, *munkar al-Ḥadīth*. However, despite all the effort that has preceded in classifying and studying these terms, I would still argue that each of the original 31 groups of terms should be discussed in greater depth individually.

Chapter Seven

Criticisms levelled against al-Bukhārī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*

Introduction

There is no human endeavour, no matter how great, except that it will later be criticised or additions made to it. If such criticism had been made during the lifetime of the author of that work, it would have been possible for him/her to amend it. Also, if the criticism was made after the death of the author, then this is an indication that the work has high value to researchers and scholars, such that they persist in commenting upon it. It is clear to me that in writing the book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, al-Bukhārī did the best he could. However, there have been numerous criticisms of it by scholars of *Ḥadīth*, both contemporaries, and others much later. Additionally, I have my own criticisms of the book to add to what has been said so far.

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327 AH / 938 CE) is amongst the most famous contemporaries who criticised him, who was also from amongst al-Bukhārī's students. These criticisms are recorded in his son's book, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, '*al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*'. During my study at the Islamic University of Madinah, I researched into the chains of narration from Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī to six different *Ḥadīth* scholars, who were specialists in the field of criticism and verification of narrators. From amongst these chains I was able to determine those instances in which his father, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, criticised al-Bukhārī for ruling a narrator weak, and these narrators amount to 23. I will mention these criticisms in detail later in this chapter. A later critic Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 728 AH / 1347 CE) a prominent scholar of *Ḥadīth* in the eighth century *hijrī*, who, though coming four centuries after al-Bukhārī, was famous for his research into the biographies of the narrators of *Ḥadīth* and commenting on the works of his predecessors in the same field. Al-Dhahabī wrote many books on the subject of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, the most

famous being *‘Mizān al-ʿItidāl fī Naqd al-Rijāl’* which I studied carefully to determine al-Dhahabī's opinions regarding the narrators that al-Bukhārī has included in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. From doing so, I have found that there are eight narrators about whom al-Dhahabī differs with al-Bukhārī. Similarly, I have found a total of 19 narrators in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Kabīr* about whom al-Dhahabī differs with al-Bukhārī. Having obtained all of the criticisms levelled against al-Bukhārī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, and having examined them, I would argue that they may be categorised into the following four categories.

The First Type of Criticism: The inclusion of some Companions as weak narrators

Before I discuss this criticism against al-Bukhārī it is appropriate to mention the different definitions given by Muslim scholars as to what constitutes Companion. There are three main opinions on this issue. **Firstly**, the definition given by the scholars of *Ḥadīth*. ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī argued that, “one who accompanied the Prophet - peace be upon him - or saw him even if only for an hour of the day” (Ibn Ḥajar, 1986: vol. 7:7). Al-Bukhārī (1980: vol. 3:5) argued that, “One who accompanied the Prophet or saw him.” Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal argued that, “The Companions of the Messenger of Allāh are those who accompanied him a month, a day, even an hour, or just saw him” (Ibn al-Ṣalāh: 1988:146). Later *Ḥadīth* scholars based their definition on those given by the previous three, for example al-Samʿānī argued that, “The scholars of *Ḥadīth* use the term ‘Companion’ to encompass all those who narrated a *Ḥadīth* or even a word directly from the Prophet, and also those just saw him” (Ibn al-Ṣalāh: 1988:146).

Secondly, the definition of the *Uṣūliyyīn* (scholars who specialised in the principles of jurisprudence). Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī claimed that, “Companionship is only attributed to he who accompanied him. From the angle of the Arabic language ‘Companionship’ may be for only an hour, whereas, its general usage would imply Companionship over a long period of time” (Ibn al-Athīr, 1989: vol. 1:19; Ibn al-Mulaqqin, 1992: vol. 2:491).

Thirdly, those definitions which require a long period of Companionship. Anas Ibn Mālīk considered that the sight of the Prophet Muḥammad was not enough on its own to define a Companion. When, in his old age, he was asked how many Companions remained besides him, Anas Ibn Mālīk replied, “There are many people from the Bedouin tribes (who saw the Prophet), but as for Companions, there are none” (Ibn al-Ṣalāh, 1988:146). Saʿīd Ibn al-Musayyib placed a condition that a person could only be a Companion if he accompanied the Messenger of Allāh for a year or two, and marched with the Prophet on at least one or two military expeditions (Ibn al-Ṣalāh, 1988:146).

After examining the various definitions, I argue that the most comprehensive opinion is that, a Companion is he who met the Prophet, believed in his message, and then died as a Muslim. So this includes he who sat with the Prophet for a long time or a short period of time, and he who narrated from the Prophet and he who did not, and he who marched to battle alongside the Prophet and he who did not, and he who saw him but did not sit with him, and he who did not see him because of an impediment such as blindness. This is also the opinion that was given by Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 1:10).

The definition of a Companion is very important for *Ḥadīth* scholars for a number of reasons. One of these is that establishing whether a narrator of *Ḥadīth* was a Companion, or otherwise, can mean the difference between a *Ḥadīth* being graded as *mursal* or *musnad*. Another important reason is that a Companion is always considered just and reliable (with regards to the narration of *Ḥadīth*) and one whose words are accepted. This status is established for them by the texts of the *Qurʾān* and *Ḥadīth* and also by the consensus of *Ḥadīth* scholars (Ibn al-Ṣalāh, 1988:146-147; Ibn ʿAbd al-Bar, n.d: vol. 1:2; Ibn Ḥajar, n.d: vol. 1:17-23). As a result, the status of Companion is the highest for reliability and trustworthiness, and it is inappropriate to conduct investigations to verify their honesty and their being upright. As soon as it is established that a narrator is a Companion then it is not required to research for statements to verify their trustworthiness. From very early time *Ḥadīth* scholars collected all details available on the Companions - their names, lineages, biographies, the areas in which they lived, battles they witnessed and the year of their deaths. Some of this information was committed to writing (al-ʿUmarī, 1984:62).

After studying *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* I have found that al-Bukhārī included some 14 Companions amongst his list of weak narrators. These Companions may be categorised into three. The first are those whom he explicitly mentions to be Companions. The second are those that he alludes to being Companions. The third group are those whom he does not mention as being Companions, but other scholars of *Ḥadīth* and history have described them as such. I shall discuss each of these 14 biographies in detail below.

The first category: Those whom al-Bukhārī explicitly mentions to be Companions

In biography number 92, where al-Bukhārī says, “Ḥuyaiy al-Laithī. He accompanied the Prophet. Abū Tamīm al-Jaishānī narrated from him, and his *Aḥādīth* are not authentic.” Al-Bukhārī affirms that this narrator is a Companion, hence, it is not necessary for me to ascertain which *Ḥadīth* scholars have mentioned this of him. Then if he has mentioned him to be a Companion, he should not have included him amongst the weak narrators. Also, he has mentioned only one student of Ḥuyaiy, namely Abū Tamīm al-Jaishānī, and finally he declares Ḥuyaiy's narrations to be weak. I argue that the appearance of al-Laithī's name in a weak narration from Abū Tamīm al-Jaishānī does not justify him being included amongst the weak narrators. Rather the weakness lies with another narrator in the chain. This *Ḥadīth* has been mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr (1989: vol. 1:557), and Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 1:366) and others, from Ibn Lahīʿah from Ibn Hubayrah, from Abū Tamīm, who said, “When the sun passed its zenith, then Ḥuyaiy al-Laithī would pray the midday prayer in his home. He would then leave for the mosque and would pray the midday prayer again with the congregation if he arrived in time.” Ibn al-Sakan (Ibn Ḥajar, n.d: vol. 1:366) said, “In his narrations there is *naḥar*.” After examining the narration, I found that the reason for this *Ḥadīth* being graded weak is the presence of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿah in its chain. Indeed, al-Bukhārī has himself declared that the *Ḥadīth* of Ibn Lahīʿah are weak, as mentioned in *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (1986b: vol. 4:50-51). Due to this, I cannot find any excuse for al-Bukhārī having mentioned Ḥuyaiy al-Laithī in the book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.

In biography number 150, where al-Bukhārī says, “Saʿd Ibn al-Mundhir. He is said to be a Companion. He is a man from Madinah and his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.”

Here, al-Bukhārī indicates that he is a Companion, although his manner suggests that there is some doubt regarding this fact. A group of *Ḥadīth* and history scholars have declared him to be a Companion, such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 4:93), Ibn al-Athīr (1989: vol. 2:225), Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (n.d: vol. 1:318), and Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 2:36). Based upon this I argue that Saʿd Ibn al-Mundhir is indeed a Companion, just as al-Bukhārī has alluded to. It then follows, just as in the previous biography, that if this narrator is a Companion, then for al-Bukhārī to append him to his list of weak narrators is inappropriate. It has been suggested by some scholars that al-Bukhārī has mentioned Saʿd Ibn al-Mundhir in his book of weak narrators only to indicate that the *Ḥadīth* narrated from him are weak. However, this reasoning cannot be justified from more than one angle. Firstly, on what basis has al-Bukhārī chosen these 14 Companions, rather than any others, to show that their *Aḥādīth* are not authentic? Clearly, there must be a well-defined methodology in mentioning Companions for this purpose. If there is no such methodology, as appears to be the case here, then it is not appropriate to mention any of the Companions for this purpose, as al-Bukhārī has. Secondly, al-Bukhārī has written another book on the history of the Companions, so it would be more appropriate for him to mention this information in that book rather than in this book of weak narrators. As for the *Ḥadīth* itself, that al-Bukhārī mentions here as being weak, it is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 2:36) as being narrated by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak from the chain of ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīyʿah, who said, “Wāsiʿ Ibn Ḥibbān narrated to me from his father, from Saʿd Ibn al-Mundhir al-Anṣārī, that he said, ‘O Messenger of Allāh, may I read the whole *Qurʾān* in three days?’ He [the Messenger of Allāh] said, ‘Yes, if you are able to.’ The narrator [Ḥibbān] then mentioned that he [Saʿd] continued to practise this until his death.” After studying

the chain of this *Ḥadīth* it has become seems that the weakness lies in ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīyah as was the case with the first Companion, just mentioned. Thus, al-Bukhārī does not have any excuse for mentioning Saʿd Ibn al-Mundhir in this book of weak narrators.

In biography number 163, where al-Bukhārī says, “Sakhbarah al-Azdī. He accompanied the Prophet; his son ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Sakhbarah narrated from him, and his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” Again, al-Bukhārī explicitly states that he is a Companion and then lists him as a weak narrator. Thus, the criticism that I have mentioned above in the preceding biographies applies here too. As for the *Ḥadīth* that is intended by al-Bukhārī, then after researching into the matter I have found that there are two *Aḥādīth* narrated by Sakhbarah al-Azdī, both of which are weak. The first *Ḥadīth* is narrated by al-Tirmidhī (1987: vol. 5:29) from the chain of Abū Dāwūd al-Aʿmā from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Sakhbarah al-Azdī, from his father, from the Prophet who said, “Seeking knowledge is an expiation for previous sins”. Al-Tirmidhī said,

This *Ḥadīth* has a weak chain. Abū Dāwūd has been declared a weak narrator. We do not know of many narrations from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Sakhbarah or from his father. The name of Abū Dāwūd is Nufaiʿ al-Aʿmā. He has been disparaged by Qatādah and other *Ḥadīth* scholars.

The second *Ḥadīth* is narrated by al-Ṭabarānī (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 10:210) from the chain of Abū Dāwūd from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Sakhbarah, from his father that the Prophet said, “Whoever is tested, and then has patience, whoever is granted sustenance and then gives thanks, whoever is oppressed and then forgives, and whoever oppresses and then seeks forgiveness from Allāh, such are those for whom there is security and they are those who are guided.” The reason for this *Ḥadīth* being unauthentic is the same as the above *Ḥadīth*, that is the presence of Abū Dāwūd al-

A[°]mā in the chain. He is amongst the abandoned narrators, as has been mentioned by other scholars such as Aḥmad Ibn Shu[°]aib al-Nasā[°]ī (1986:242), [°]Amr Ibn [°]Alī al-Fallās (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 8:489-490). To conclude, there is no excuse for al-Bukhārī to mention Sakhbarah al-Azdī amongst the weak narrators.

In biography number 321, where al-Bukhārī says, “al-Qa[°]qā[°] Ibn Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī; he accompanied the Prophet; his wife is Baqīrah. His *Ḥadīth* narrated by way of [°]Abd Allāh Ibn Sa[°]īd al-Maqburī is not authentic.” Again, al-Bukhārī states that the narrator is a Companion, and still includes him amongst weak narrators, which is inappropriate as I have mentioned previously. In this biography al-Bukhārī refers to a *Ḥadīth* which he says is not authentic but does not mention which *Ḥadīth* this is. However, I have found the *Ḥadīth* in question, and it is narrated by al-Ṭabarānī (Ibn Ḥajar, n.d: vol. 3:230), from the chain of [°]Abd Allāh Ibn Sa[°]īd, from Abū Sa[°]īd, from al-Qa[°]qā[°] Ibn Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī, who said that he heard the Prophet says, “Leave your stomachs unfilled, and be stern against your self, and walk bare footed.” The defect in this *Ḥadīth*, due to which it is weak, is not in al-Qa[°]qā[°] al-Aslamī, but as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 7:136) says, “the defect is from the one narrating from him, and that is [°]Abd Allāh Ibn Sa[°]īd al-Maqburī, who is a weak narrator”. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 7:136) said regarding him, “He is *munkar al-Ḥadīth* and he is abandoned”. Also, Aḥmad Ibn Shu[°]aib al-Nasā[°]ī (1986:203) said, “*munkar al-Ḥadīth*.” Thus, I can again state that al-Bukhārī has no acceptable reason to mention al-Qa[°]qā[°] al-Aslamī in his book of weak narrators. As a supporting evidence for my claim, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 7:136) argued that, “some regard him (al-Qa[°]qā[°] al-Aslamī) a

weak narrator (referring to al-Bukhārī's view) and I heard my father say 'Remove his name (meaning al-Qaʿqāʿ) from this book (meaning *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*)'."

In biography number 411, where al-Bukhārī says, "Hind Ibn Abī Hālah; he used to dress the Prophet's hair often. Al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAlī narrated from him, though the chain of narration from him has been disparaged." This statement clearly shows that Hind Ibn Abī Hālah was a Companion, and thus the same argument I have presented above applies here. It is not appropriate for Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī to include him in his book of weak narrators. As for the *Ḥadīth* referred to here by al-Bukhārī, then it has been narrated by Muḥammad Ibn ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī (1993: vol. 1:34), Sulaimān Ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (1983: vol. 22:155), Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakīm (1986: vol. 3:640), and others. It is a long *Ḥadīth*, and it can be viewed in entirety in the sources I have mentioned. Yūsuf Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 30:315-316) said, "In the chains of the *Ḥadīth* of Hind Ibn Abī Hālah, are some narrators who are unknown." Thus, the weakness in this *Ḥadīth* is not in the Companion who narrated it, and hence al-Bukhārī should not have mentioned him in his book of weak narrators. To support my position on this issue, Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 9:116) said regarding Hind, "Some *Majhūl* narrators have narrated from him. So what fault does he have that al-Bukhārī has included him amongst the weak narrators in his book?" He then said, "He should be removed from that book [meaning al-Bukhārī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*]."

The second category: Those whom al-Bukhārī alluded to being Companions

In biography number 161, where al-Bukhārī says, "Salāmah Ibn Qaiṣar al-Ḥaḍramī. He heard from the Prophet; Fulān Ibn Rabīʿah narrated from him. His *Ḥadīth* is *layyin* (has some weakness in it)." Al-Bukhārī does not explicitly state that this

narrator is a Companion because he knew that there was some difference over the status of his Companionship. From amongst those who have declared him a Companion, are Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ, Ibn Ḥibbān, and others (Ibn Ḥajar, n.d: vol. 2:58). Those who denied this are Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī and others (1952: vol. 4:299-300). Despite this, Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī stated "He heard from the Prophet" and then went on to include him amongst the weak narrators, and this is clearly inappropriate. However, even if we were to take the opinion that he was not a Companion, then it is still not befitting to list him amongst the weak narrators, as al-Bukhārī does not mention any acceptable evidence to prove his weakness. As for the *Ḥadīth* which al-Bukhārī alludes to, it is narrated by al-Ṭabarānī (1985: vol. 7:56) from the chain of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahīy'ah, who said Zabbān Ibn Fāid narrated to him, from Lahīy'ah Ibn 'Uqbah, from 'Amr Ibn Rabī'ah al-Ḥaḍramī, who said he heard Salāmah Ibn Qaiṣar say that he heard the Prophet say, "Whoever fasts a single day desiring only the pleasure of Allāh, then Allāh will separate him from Hellfire by the distance that a crow could fly from its young age till its death in old age." The reason that this *Ḥadīth* is considered weak is not due to Salāmah Ibn Qaiṣar al-Ḥaḍramī, rather it is due to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahīy'ah, whom I have discussed earlier. Also, another reason for this weakness is Zabbān Ibn Fāid, who has been declared weak. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 4:299-300) said, "His *Aḥādīth* are *Manākīr*." Similarly, Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 1952: vol. 4:299-300) said about him, "A weak *shaykh*."

In biography number 184, where al-Bukhārī says, "'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Ukaim al-Juhanī, who lived at the time of the Prophet, but it is not known for sure whether he heard directly from the Prophet." There is some difference over whether this narrator is a

Companion or not, as Ibn ʿAbd al-Bar mentioned (n.d: vol. 2:360-361), which is why al-Bukhārī says “it is not known whether he heard directly from the Prophet.” Among those who declared him to be a Companion are Ibn Athīr (1989: vol. 3:235) and Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 2:338). But regardless of this, it is not enough for al-Bukhārī to list him as a weak narrator in his book, even if his Companionship is not established, as there is no acceptable evidence to indicate this.

In biography number 186, where al-Bukhārī says, “Jābir narrated from al-Shaʿbī that ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Thābit narrated from the Prophet. However, this chain of narration is not authentic. Also, Mujālid narrated from al-Shaʿbī from Jābir, that ʿUmar presented a book to the Prophet.” Thus al-Bukhārī does not explicitly mention ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Thābit as being a Companion, as he is aware of some difference regarding his Companionship. From amongst those who have mentioned him as a Companion is Ibn Ḥibbān (1973: vol. 3:242). As for the actual *Ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī is referring to here as being weak, it is what has been narrated by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (Ibn Ḥajar; n.d: vol. 2:276) from the chain of Jābir al-Juʿfī, from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, who said,

ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb came to the Messenger of Allāh and said, ‘O Messenger of Allāh, I passed by a brother of mine from amongst *Banī Qurayzah*, so he wrote for me some important passages from the Torah. Should I not present them to you?’ So the face of the Prophet changed ...

The reason for this *Ḥadīth* being weak is Jābir al-Juʿfī, who is an abandoned narrator. Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 4:468) said regarding him, “He was a liar.” Also, Aḥmad Ibn Shuʿaib al-Nasāʾī (1986:163) said, “He is abandoned.” Thus, there is difference over whether ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī is a Companion, but again, regardless of whether he is a Companion or not, there is

nothing to indicate that he is a weak narrator. Therefore, °Abd Allāh Ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī should not be included in *al-Du'afā'*.

In biography number 208, where al-Bukhārī says, “°Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sannah when he narrates from the Prophet. His *Ḥadīth* is not strong”. Again al-Bukhārī is not explicit in stating that he is a Companion, but indicates this by mentioning that he narrated from the Prophet. There is difference on whether °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sannah was a Companion. Amongst those who said he was a Companion are Ibn Ḥibbān (Ibn Ḥajar; n.d: vol. 2:394). Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (n.d: vol. 1:349), °Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (1989: vol. 3:352-353) and others. As for the *Ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī refers to here as being weak, it is narrated by Aḥmad Ḥanbal and al-Baghawī from the chain of Ishāq Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Farwah from Yūsuf Ibn Sulaymān from his grandmother Maymūnah, from °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sannah, who said he heard the Messenger of Allāh say, “Islam began as something strange, and it shall return as it began...” The reason for this *Ḥadīth* being weak is due to Ishāq Ibn Abī Farwah, as has been explained in the edited version of the manuscript. Regardless of whether °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sannah was a Companion or not, he should not have been included amongst the list of weak narrators, as is the case with the previous cases.

In biography number 218, where al-Bukhārī says, “°Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Qārib Ibn al-Aswad narrating from the Prophet; he is from *Thaqīf*. The chain ‘Ibn Abī Uwais narrated to us from his father from Ibn Ishāq from °Abd Allāh Ibn Mukram’ is not authentic.” Al-Bukhārī does not explicitly state that this narrator is a Companion, but makes an indication that he is by mentioning that he narrates from the Prophet. There

is difference over whether he was indeed a Companion, and it appears to me that he was actually from the *Tābʿīn*, as mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 3:154). However, he would ascribe *Ḥadīth* directly to the Prophet without mentioning the name of the Companion in between (*Ḥadīth mursal*). Regardless of which generation he belongs to, he should not have been mentioned in the book as he is not a weak narrator. As for the *Ḥadīth* which al-Bukhārī uses to ascribe the weakness to him, the defect in the *Ḥadīth* is due to another narrator, though I have not been able to find the actual text of the *Ḥadīth*.

In biography number 270, where al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAmr Ibn ʿUbaīd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī. He saw the Prophet, peace be upon him; his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic”. Al-Bukhārī in this case states that which amounts to the fact that al-Ḥaḍramī is a Companion - and this is backed up by the work of other scholars of history who conclude that he is indeed a Companion, such as Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 3:7) yet al-Bukhārī includes his name amongst the list of weak narrators. The *Ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī is referring to here was narrated by Aḥmad Ḥanbal and others from the chain of al-Ḥassān Ibn ʿUbaīd Allāh, that “ʿAmr Ibn ʿUbaīd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, Companion of the Prophet, ate a shoulder (of camel meat), then stood up, washed his mouth and prayed without making ablution again.” As has been explained by Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 6:244), the reason why al-Bukhārī considers this *Ḥadīth* to be weak is because he doubts that ʿAmr Ibn ʿUbaīd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī is actually a Companion. Thus he considers this to be a *mursal* narration. However, irrespective of whether ʿAmr Ibn ʿUbaīd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī is actually a Companion it is not appropriate to include him in the book of weak narrators. Hence, Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī says (1952: vol. 6:242) “His name should be removed from the book *al-Duʿafāʾ*.”

In biography number 326, where al-Bukhārī says, “Kudair al-Ḍabī narrating from the Prophet. The chain ‘Abū Ishāq al-Hamdānī, from al-Ḍabī’ is not strong”. Al-Bukhārī does not mention that Kudair is a Companion, rather he only indicates towards this being the case. Ibn al-Athīr (1989: vol. 4:162) claimed that, “There is disagreement over whether he is a Companion.” Consequently Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 7:174) argued that, “I asked my father regarding him and he replied, ‘He [Kudair] is truthful.’ Then it was said to my father that al-Bukhārī included him in his book on weak narrators, so my father replied “His name should be removed from that book.” However, Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 4:486-487) has tried to defend al-Bukhārī’s listing Kudair in *al-Duʿafāʾ* by saying that “al-Bukhārī did not explicitly declare him weak. Rather he said, ‘Simāk Ibn Salamah narrated from Kudair, and then he declared him weak.’ Thus it appears that al-Bukhārī is referring to the story from Simāk that I mentioned earlier.” What Ibn Ḥajar has mentioned from al-Bukhārī is not present in the book *al-Duʿafāʾ*, but I suspect that it is present in *al-Duʿafāʾ al-Kabīr*. Whatever the case, this text is present in *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (vol. 7:242). In short, I would argue that al-Bukhārī has not provided any acceptable evidence to list Kudair in his book of weak narrators.

The third category: Those whom al-Bukhārī does not mention as being Companions, but other scholars of *Ḥadīth* and history have

In biography number 185, where al-Bukhārī says, “[°]Abd Allāh. He is the father of [°]Alqamah al-Muzanī; and the chains of narration for his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” There is difference over whether [°]Abd Allāh is a Companion or not. However, there is no reason to add him as a weak narrator as al-Bukhārī has not provided any

acceptable evidence to do so. As for the *Aḥādīth* that al-Bukhārī refers to here, then they are: firstly, that which has been narrated by Abū Dāwūd (n.d: vol. 3:730) and Ibn Mājah (1954: vol. 2:671) from the chain of Muammad Ibn Faḍa' who narrates from his father, from 'Alqamah Ibn 'Abd Allāh from his father, who said, "The Messenger of Allāh forbade cutting off the established paths used by the Muslims, except due to a necessity or harm incurred." Secondly, that which is narrated by al-Tirmidhī (1987: vol. 4:241-242) from the chain of Muḥammad Ibn Faḍa', who said his father narrated to him from 'Alqamah Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, from his father, who said that the Prophet said, "If one of you buys some meat, then let him make plenty of gravy with it. ..." Thirdly, that which is narrated by Abū Nu'aim as mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 2:314); however, I have not been able to find this *Ḥadīth*.

In biography number 211, where al-Bukhārī says, "'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Thābit Ibn al-Ṣāmit narrating from his father, narrating from the Prophet. The chain of 'Ibn Abī Ḥabībah from 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Thābit from his father' is not authentic." It is surprising that al-Bukhārī included him in the list of weak narrators, as Ibn al-Athīr (1989: vol. 3:325) mentions that al-Bukhārī has declared 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Thābit Ibn al-Ṣāmit to be a Companion. Similarly, Abū Nu'aim, Ibn Mandah and others (Ibn Ḥajar; n.d: vol. 2:384-385) also declare him to be a Companion. In addition, it is related that Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 5:219) said,

I asked my father about this narrator and he responded, 'in my opinion his *Aḥādīth* are not objectionable.' So I told him that al-Bukhārī included him in his book of weak narrators, so he said 'his *Ḥadīth* should be written; and his name should be removed from al-Bukhārī's book'.

I agree with the opinion of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and say that even though his Companionship may be an issue of difference, there is nothing to support his

inclusion in the book of weak narrators, especially since al-Bukhārī did not describe him with any of the terminology used to criticise narrators. As for the *Ḥadīth* which al-Bukhārī is referring to here as being weak, it is that which is narrated by Ibn Mājah (1954: vol. 1:329) and others from the chain of Ismā'īl Ibn Abī Uwais, from Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismā'īl al-Ash-halī, from °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Thābit Ibn al-Ṣāmit, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "The Prophet prayed amongst *Banī* °Abd al-Ash-hal, and he wore a robe which he wrapped around him, and then used to place his hands on [during prostration] to protect himself from the cold of the stones." Al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 4:356) said that "°Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Thābit has narrated only one *Ḥadīth*, and there is contradiction in its chain." The reason why al-Bukhārī stated that this *Ḥadīth* is weak is not due to °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Thābit, rather it is due to the contradiction in the chain of its narrators.

In short, for some of the above narrators al-Bukhārī himself agreed that they were Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, whereas, in the case of others there is some disagreement. In such cases, I have appended the comments of scholars of *Ḥadīth* where appropriate in the biographies of these narrators. I do not disagree with al-Bukhārī in his classification of the above narrators as being Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. However, I wish to establish that if Companionship is affirmed for any narrator, then it is inappropriate to include him in a book which is specific to discussion of weak narrators, since, as I have mentioned earlier, the Companions are above the need for having their truthfulness and veracity questioned. Some scholars of *Ḥadīth* have put forward excuses for al-Bukhārī including Companions in his book, by saying that he did not intend by their inclusion to indicate that they were weak, rather he sought to highlight that those particular chains of narration were

weak. However, my response, as I mentioned earlier, is that al-Bukhārī already has a book in which he collated information on the lives of the Companions and narrators from the followers, so why not include the biographies of the above 14 narrators in that book? Secondly, *al-Duʿafāʾ* is specific to the mention of the weak narrators, hence, discussion of weak chains of narration in this book is at variance with the apparent methodology of the book. Rather, such discussions should be in the books of *al-ʿIlal*. Then we could ask, why limit one self to only 14 weak chains? Some may say, in answer to this, that since this is a concise book, it is not feasible to mention chain after chain of narration. But then I would ask what methodology is al-Bukhārī using in this book, to select narrators whose chains contain weaknesses further down. He could have mentioned the weak links in these chains rather than the doubting the source. Again, I say that it is not befitting that those for whom Companionship of the Prophet Muḥammad is affirmed be listed in this book.

The Second Type of Criticism: The narrators who were classified as weak because their beliefs differed with al-Bukhārī

One aspect of his criticism was for those who disagreed with him in an area of belief, and I examined earlier some of the heresies that he mentioned in *al-Duʿafāʾ*. I shall now study those narrators who al-Bukhārī classified as weak for no reason other than their divergence in issues of belief. I have found 18 such narrators.

Those who were criticised for the innovation of *Irjāʾ*

I have already discussed the meaning of being amongst of *al-Murjʾah* in this era of Muslim history and its different types (see p 66). After studying the book of *al-Duʿafāʾ* I have found that al-Bukhārī disparages seven narrators due to them being

accused of *Irjā'*. In biography number 25, al-Bukhārī says, “Ayyūb Ibn ʿAāʾdh al-Ṭāʾī. He heard (*Ḥadīth* from) al-Shaʿbī and Qais Ibn Muslim. Ibn ʿUyaynah narrated from him. He ascribed to the belief of *Irjā'*, and he was *ṣadūq*.” So although al-Bukhārī regards him as being *ṣadūq*, nonetheless, he added him to his book of weak narrators. This is contrary to the action of many other *Ḥadīth* scholars (Ibn Ḥajar; 1986:411) who graded him as trustworthy and reliable including Ibn Maʿīn, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and al-Nisāʾī. Al-Bukhārī's view that Ayyūb Ibn ʿAāʾdh al-Ṭāʾī ascribed to the belief of *Irjā'* is not a sufficient reason to criticise him as a narrator. I am astounded, just as Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:289) was before me, that even though this narrator is listed as weak by al-Bukhārī, he himself used Ayyūb Ibn ʿAāʾdh al-Ṭāʾī's *Ḥadīth* in his collection of authentic *Ḥadīth*, ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’ (al-Kallābādhī; 1987: vol. 1:82), and so did Muslim (Ibn Manjuyah; 1987: vol. 1:64). Thus I would claim that it is not appropriate for al-Bukhārī to include him in his book of weak narrators, then use him.

In biography number 34, al-Bukhārī says, “Asad Ibn ʿAmr Abū al-Mundhir al-Bajalī. He was from *Kūfa*, *ṣāḥib raʾī* [he followed the school of *Ḥanaḥī* Jurists], [and was] weak. He heard [*Ḥadīth* from] Ibrāhīm Ibn Jarīr.” After examining the biography of this narrator I found that those who classified him as weak did so based on no acceptable evidence. For example, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 2:338) claimed that, “He was *ṣadūq*, but he was also a Companion of Abū Ḥanīfah, and nothing should be narrated from him.” Thus the reason that Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī presents for weakening Asad Ibn ʿAmr Abū al-Mundhir is not one that can be accepted. Indeed, I could not find a satisfactory reason for weakening him, and I am supported in this judgement by the *Ḥadīth* scholar, Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn, who graded him as *thiqah*, as

well as another scholar ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 2:83) who commented, “I do not find anything wrong in his *Ḥadīth* and I hope his *Aḥādīth* are acceptable.” I discussed earlier the difference amongst the scholars of *Ḥadīth* regarding classifying a narrator as weak due to his being a person of *aṣḥāb al-raʾī*. In my opinion, if it is found that Asad Ibn ʿAmr Abū al-Mundhir is acceptable with regards to narrating *Ḥadīth*, and he was not known for relating objectionable narrations, then we should accept what he has narrated, and thus al-Bukhārī should not have included him in his book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. Therefore, we can accept his *Ḥadīth*, while he must bear the consequences for any incorrect views he may have.

In biography number 139, al-Bukhārī says, “Saʿīd Ibn Sālim; Abū ʿUthmān al-Qaddāh from *Khurāsān*. He lived in Makkah. He narrated from Ibn Juraij. He used to ascribe to the belief of *Irjāʾ*.” Here, also, al-Bukhārī mentions nothing to support his grading of Saʿīd Ibn Sālim as a weak narrator except that he ascribed to *Irjāʾ*, and I have already discussed the difference of opinion that exists over the heretical belief of a narrator. A number of scholars of *Ḥadīth* (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 10:456) have graded him as a strong narrator, including Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAdī. I therefore argue that he ought not to be included in the book of weak narrators.

In biography number 174, al-Bukhārī says, “al-Ṣalt Ibn Bihrām al-Taimī al-Kūfī; Abū Hāshim, being the lineage mentioned by Marwān Ibn Muʿāwiyah. He was mentioned as ascribing to the belief of *Irjāʾ*. He heard [*Ḥadīth*] from Abū Waʿil, and he [al-Ṣalt Ibn Bihrām] is *ṣadūq* in narration.” As with the previous biographies in this section, al-Bukhārī offers nothing to support his grading of the narrator as weak

except that he ascribed to the belief of *Irjāʾ*. This is despite the fact that al-Bukhārī himself regards this narrator as *ṣadūq*. Also, a number of *Ḥadīth* scholars (al-Dhahabī; 1963: vol. 2:317) regarded him as *thiqah*, amongst them Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 4:438-439) said regarding him “There is nothing wrong with him except the *Irjāʾ*.” Therefore I argue that he should not have been included in the book of weak narrators.

In biography number 183, al-Bukhārī says,

Ṭalq Ibn Ḥabīb. He narrated from Jābir and Ibn al-Zubair. Narrators from him are Muṣʿab Ibn Shaiba and ʿAmr Ibn Dīnār. Musaddad narrated to us on the authority of Ḥammād Ibn Zaid from Ayyūb who said ‘I have not seen anyone more devoted to worship than Ṭalq.’ Saʿīd Ibn Jubair saw me [Ayyūb] sitting with Ṭalq, and said, ‘How is it that I see you sitting with Ṭalq?! Do not sit with him.’ Ṭalq believed in *Irjāʾ*, but he is considered *ṣadūq* in his narrations.

Ṭalq Ibn Ḥabīb is a narrator whose *Ḥadīth* were used by Muslim in his collection of authentic *Ḥadīth*, ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’ (Ibn Manjuyah; 1987: vol. 1:330), and was an upright man from the second generation of Muslims. He cannot be criticised except for his belief of *Irjāʾ*, and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī graded him as a strong narrator (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 13:452). I therefore argue that al-Bukhārī should not have included him in his book of weak narrators, especially since al-Bukhārī accords him the level of *ṣadūq*.

In biography number 231, al-Bukhārī says,

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Abī Rawwād; Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the freed slave of al-Azd. The name of Abū Rawwād was Maimūn. He is the cousin of ʿUmārah Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah. Abū Ḥafṣah and Abū Rawwād were two brothers from Makkah. He heard from Nāfiʿ and al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Al-Thaurī narrated from him. Al-Ḥumaidī narrated to us from Yaḥyā Ibn Sulaim who said that he [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Abī Rawwād] subscribed to *Irjāʾ*.

Again al-Bukhārī does not mention any acceptable evidence to support his weakening of this narrator except *Irjāʾ*. Some scholars of *Ḥadīth* (al-Mizzī; 1992:

vol. 18:138-139) regarded him as a very strong narrator of *Ḥadīth*, to the extent that Yahyā Ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 18:138-139) argued, “ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Abī Rawwād is *thiqah*, and his *Ḥadīth* should not be abandoned due to an errant opinion that he held [that is *Irjāʾ*].” Therefore I argue that al-Bukhārī should not have included him in his book of weak narrators.

In biography number 249, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAbd al-Majīd Ibn ʿAbd al-Azīz Ibn Abī Rawwād al-Makki; Abū ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd the freed slave of al-Azd. He subscribed to the belief of *Irjāʾ*. He narrated from his father; al-Humaidī used to criticise him, yet he narrated from him.” This narrator is also one who is known for the belief of *Irjāʾ*, like his father. It is said that he was a staunch advocate of *Irjāʾ*, and the cause of his father accepting it. But a number of scholars of *Ḥadīth* considered him a *thiqah* narrator such as Abū Dāwūd, Yahyā Ibn Maʿīn, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and others (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 18:273-275). Thus, I argue that al-Bukhārī should not have included him in his book of weak narrators.

Those who were criticised for the innovation of *al-Qadr*

I have already discussed the meaning of being a member of *al-Qadariyyah* in this era of Muslim history and its different types (see p 69). After examining the book of *al-Duʿafāʾ* I have found six narrators in this category. In biography number 193, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Labīd al-Madanī. He narrated from Abī Salamah. Al-Ḥumaidī narrated to us from Ibn ʿUyaynah that ‘ʿAbd Allāh was one of the most devoted worshippers from the people of Madinah’; he ascribed to the belief of *al-Qadr*; He was the freed slave of al-Akhnas. His lineage has been specified by Muḥammad Ibn ʿUmar. Darāwardī said ‘Ṣafwān Ibn Salīm did not attend his funeral’

and his *Aḥādīth* are acceptable.” I am astounded that both al-Bukhārī (al-Kallābādī; 1987: vol. 2:861) and Muslim (Ibn Manjūyah; 1987: vol. 1:384-385) used this narrator's *Ḥadīth* in their authentic collections, yet al-Bukhārī included him in his book of weak narrators. A large number of *Ḥadīth* scholars regarded him as *thiqah* (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 15:484), so I argue that his inclusion in this book is inappropriate. This means that if al-Bukhārī used him, the reason of holding the belief in *al-Qadr* does not really hold to weaken a narrator, as is the case in the following examples.

In biography number 292, al-Bukhārī says, “‘Aṭā' Ibn Abī Maimūna; Abū Mu'adh; the freed slave of Anas. Yazīd Ibn Hārūn said that he was the freed slave of 'Imrān Ibn Ḥuṣayn. He ascribed to the belief of *al-Qadr*, and was from Basra. He heard [*Ḥadīth*] from Anas and Abū Rāfi'; Shu'bah and his son Abū Rauḥ narrated from him; Yaḥyā said ‘he died after the plague’.” Al-Bukhārī does not mention anything he deems blameworthy other than the narrator's ascribing to the belief of *al-Qadr*. Despite this, it is surprising to note that the narrators *Ḥadīth* were used by both al-Bukhārī (al-Kallābādī; 1987: vol. 2:568) and Muslim in their authentic collections (Ibn Manjūyah; 1987: vol. 2:102). Again, it is also mentioned by Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 20:117-119) that many scholars of *Ḥadīth* regarded him as *thiqah*. Thus, he should not have been included in al-Bukhārī's book of weak narrators.

In biography number 325, al-Bukhārī says, “Kahmas Ibn al-Minhāl; narrated from Sa'īd Ibn Abī 'Arūba. Ismā'īl Ibn Ḥafṣ narrates from his father that it was said that he ascribed to *al-Qadr*.” Despite listing him in the book of weak narrators al-Bukhārī

himself used him in one *Ḥadīth* in his authentic collection (al-Kallābādī; 1987: vol. 2:875). Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 7:171) argued that, “his *Aḥādīth* are to be written; and his status is that of *ṣadūq*.” and then said “His name should be removed from the book of *al-Duʿafāʾ* of al-Bukhārī.” Ibn Ḥajar (1996:398) said “he was *ṣadūq* but accused of *al-Qadr*.” Therefore, in my opinion al-Bukhārī should not have added Kahmas Ibn al-Minhāl to his list of weak narrators.

In biography number 365, al-Bukhārī says,

Mūsā Ibn Abī Kathīr; Abū al-Ṣabbāh; he ascribed to the belief of *al-Qadr*; he heard [*Ḥadīth*] from Saʿīd Ibn al-Musayyab and Mujāhid; al-Thaurī and Miṣʿar narrated from him. It has been narrated to us by Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥammad, who was informed by al-Naḍr, who said that he was narrated to by Shuʿbah, who said Abū al-Ṣabbāh narrated to him - a *shaykh* from amongst the scholars of *Wāsiṭ* – that he heard from Saʿīd Ibn al-Musayyab.

Again, al-Bukhārī does not mention anything he deems blameworthy other than the narrator's ascribing to the belief of *al-Qadr*. Again, it is mentioned by Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 29:137) that many scholars of *Ḥadīth*, such as Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn and others, regarded him as *thiqah*. Thus, he should not have been included in al-Bukhārī's book of weak narrators. To support my opinion, Ibn Ḥajar (1996:458) says, “*ṣadūq* ... those who have deemed him weak are incorrect.”

In biography number 413, al-Bukhārī says, “Yaḥyā Ibn Bisṭām Ibn Ḥuraith; he is from *Baṣra*; he is said to have ascribed to the belief of *al-Qadr*”. Al-Bukhārī mentions no other reason of weakness for this narrator other than his belief in *al-Qadr*. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 9:132) argued that, “he was a *shaykh* and *ṣadūq*; there is no problem in accepting his *Ḥadīth*; he ascribed to the view of *al-Qadr*. Al-Bukhārī added him to his book of weak narrators, but his name should be

removed from it.” I support Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's opinion as there is nothing to indicate that the narrator is weak.

Those who were accused of the innovation of *al-Khurūj*

I have already discussed the meaning of being a member of *al-Khawārij* in this era of Muslim history and its different types (see p 70). After examining the book of *al-Duʿafāʾ* I have found two narrators in this category. In biography number 167, where al-Bukhārī says:

Shabath Ibn Ribʿī; narrated from ʿAlī, who narrated from the Prophet, in the *Ḥadīth* of *tasbīḥ*. Muḥammad Ibn Kaʿb narrated from him. Abū Wāʾil said ‘Shabath came to Ḥudhaifa’. Musaddad narrated to us on the authority of Muʿtamir from his father from Anas that Shabath said ‘I am the first person who *ḥarrara al-Ḥarūriyah* (started the ideology of *al-Khurūj* in the land of Ḥarūrāʾ)’. So a person responded ‘that is nothing to be praised for!’.

I have previously defined the meaning of *al-Harūriyah* (see p 70). Al-Bukhārī in this case does not use any of the terms of criticism against this narrator that he usually employs when discussing a person who ascribes to heretical beliefs. Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 2:261) argued that, “he (that is Shabath Ibn Ribʿī) separated from *al-Khawārij* and repented.” Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 4:388) argued that, “his *Aḥādīth* are upright and there is no problem with him.” If his case is as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and al-Dhahabī mention, then there is no reason to grade him as a weak narrator, especially given the fact that he repented from the ideology of *al-Khawārij*.

In biography number 266, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥuṣain; he heard [*Ḥadīth*] from ʿUmar Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Jābir Ibn Zaid; Ibn Juraij narrated from him; Bishr Ibn al-Mufaḍḍal narrates from his father about ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥuṣain that he (ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥuṣain) was a member of *al-Khawārij*.” Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 6:181-

182) argued that, “his *Aḥādīth* are to be written (that is, they are acceptable).” Yahyā Ibn Maʿīn (al-Dhahabī; 1963: vol. 3:124-125) declared, “I do not know of him.” Al-Bukhārī mentions nothing in support of his weakening of this narrator except that he was a member of *al-Khawārij* and this is not a valid reason to do so, especially since there are other narrators whose *Ḥadīth* he used in his ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’ collection who were also members of *al-Khawārij*. In the case of this narrator, further research is required to find the judgement of other *Ḥadīth* scholars with regards to him.

Those who were accused of the innovation of *Shiʿism*

After examining the book of *al-Duʿafāʾ* I have found only one narrator in this category. In biography number 226, where al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Aʿyan. He was a *Shiʿī*; Ibn ʿUyaynah and Ismāʿīl Ibn Sumaiʿ narrated from him. His narrations are acceptable.” I have already discussed (see p 71) the meaning of being a *Shiʿī* in this era of Muslim history and its different types, and it seems to me that al-Bukhārī does not actually deem him to be a weak narrator, and therefore he says, “His narrations are acceptable.” Also, al-Bukhārī has narrated from him in his ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’ (al-Kallābādhi; 1987: vol. 2:862) collection. It is therefore again surprising that al-Bukhārī added this narrator in the book of *al-Duʿafāʾ*. Ibn Ḥajar (1996:302) graded him as a “*ṣadūq shiʿī*.” Hence, I argue that he should not have been added to this book.

Those who were accused of the innovation of *al-Iʿtizāl*

I have already discussed the meaning of being a member of *al-Muʿtazilah* in this era of Muslim history and its different types (see p 71). After examining the book of *al-Duʿafāʾ* I have found only one narrator in this category. In biography number 88,

where al-Bukhārī says, “Ḥamza Ibn Najīḥ; Abū ʿAmmār; He heard [*Ḥadīth*] from al-Ḥasan. Mūsā Ibn Ismāʿīl said, ‘He belonged to *al-Muʿtazilah*’.” Al-Bukhārī mentions no reason for his weakening of the narrator except his belonging to *al-Muʿtazilah*, and though Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 3:216) also classed him as weak, Abū Dāwūd (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 7:341-342) regarded him as *thiqah*. Despite al-Bukhārī not grading him as a strong narrator, he did not grade him with any of the terms of disparagement. Ibn Ḥajar (1996:120) argued that, “he is *layyin*, and was accused of belonging to *al-Muʿtazila*.”

In short, the basis of *ʿAdālah* in a narrator lies in truthfulness and trustworthiness, and being free from the accusation of lying. We cannot claim a direct relationship between innovation and lying with regards to the statements of people, and even more so in the case of the statements of the Messenger of Allāh. Those who have raised objections to the narration from the innovators – particularly its propagators – on the basis of attempts to justify their innovation through false *Ḥadīth*, have based this reason on assumption. However, a mere assumption cannot stand in the face of clear evidence of the truthfulness and trustworthiness of a narrator. Also, we can only base our judgements on the apparent condition of an individual. The scholars of *al-Jarḥ* have not been burdened with determining his inner thoughts and beliefs. Thus, we can only base our judgements on the narrators agreement or difference with the *Ḥadīth* of other trustworthy narrators. Thus, al-Bukhārī's verdict of the above mentioned narrators as being weak simply due to their being innovators, without any other conclusive proof, is not acceptable. Added to this is the fact that it is known that al-Bukhārī was particularly severe against the *al-Murji'ah*, as I have explained in chapter two. This, to the extent that al-Bukhārī has himself said (Ibn Ḥajar,

1986:503), “I do not write except from those who say that *imān* is statement and action.”

The Third Type of Criticism: Those who have been included in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* without any clear evidence

In the course of my study of al-Bukhārī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, I have identified 17 narrators whom al-Bukhārī deems to be weak, from amongst those who are not Companions and who are not accused of any innovation. While examining the biographies of these narrators, I found that most of them have been defended by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī in '*al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*'. After my own examination of these narrators I have reached the conclusion, in the case of some of them, in favour of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's judgement that these narrators should not have been included in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. However, in the case of some of them I have not been able to come to any definite conclusion, and here I shall mention the biographies of these narrators.

In biography number 38, al-Bukhārī says, “Akhnas. He heard from Ibn Masʿūd; his son Bukair narrated from him and his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” Ibn Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 2:345) argued that, “I heard my father disapprove of his inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.” As regards the *Ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī refers to, it is what has been narrated by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī (1984: vol. 1:121-122) from the chain of Abū Janāb from Bukair Ibn al-Akhnas, who said, “My father narrated to me, and said that he recited during the night *Sūrah Ḥa Mīm ʿAin Sīn Qāf*” The defect in it is due to the presence of Abū Janāb in its chain of narration as mentioned by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, and as such Akhnas should not have been included in the book.

In biography number 90, al-Bukhārī says, “Ḥuraith Ibn Abī Ḥuraith; he heard from Ibn ʿUmar; Ibn Ḥalbas narrated from him in the *Ḥadīth* of *al-Ṣarf*. This has been mentioned by Abū al-Mughīrah. He narrated from al-Awzāʿī. *lā yutābaʿ ʿalā ḥadīthihi*.” Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 3:263) rejected the inclusion of this narrator in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, arguing that, “his *Ḥadīth* should be written but they should not be used for evidence (if he is not supported by other narrations).” I was unable to find the *Ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī refers to, and can not make any definitive comments about it. My findings about the narrator himself revealed two contradictory statements made by Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥibbān. On the one hand, he (n.d: vol. 1:260) includes Ḥuraith among his criticised narrators saying, “*munkar al-Ḥadīth jiddan* against the well-known narrations.” and “al-Awzāʿī was strongly against him.” At the same time Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥibbān included him in his book of ‘*al-thiqāt*’ (1978: vol. 4:176). Thus, more research is required before I can make a judgement regarding this particular narrator.

In biography number 132, al-Bukhārī says, “Saʿīd Ibn Bashīr. He narrated from Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bailamānī; al-Laith narrated from him. His *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” Al-Bukhārī does not explicitly grade him as a disparaged narrator, and only mentions that his name is in a chain that is not authentic, namely that which has been narrated by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī (1984: vol. 2:100), ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 4:442) and others, from the chain of Saʿīd Ibn Bashir, from Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bailamānī, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbbās, from the Messenger of Allāh, that he said, “Whoever says in the morning” Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 4:7-8) rejected this narrator’s inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* saying that the narrator “was one of al-Laith’s lesser-known

teachers, with al-Laith being the sole narrator from him. He should not be included in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.” I say that as a result of this, there is a degree of uncertainty with regards to this narrator.

In biography number 212, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥarmala; paternal uncle of al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥassan; he narrated from Ibn Masʿūd; al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥassan narrated from him. His *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” Again al-Bukhārī does not give the narrator a specific grading of disparagement, but only mentions that the *Ḥadīth* that the narrator related is not authentic, namely the *Ḥadīth* narrated by Abū Dāwūd (1973: vol. 4:427-428), Aḥmad Ibn Shuʿaib al-Nasāʾī (n.d: vol. 8:141), Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī (1984: vol. 2:329) and others, from the chain of al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥassan, from his uncle, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥarmalah, from ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Masʿūd, who said, “The Prophet of Allāh used to hate ten things:” Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 5:222-223) criticised his inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* saying:

There is no problem with his *Ḥadīth*, he has narrated only one *Ḥadīth*; His *Aḥādīth* are not accepted as evidence unless supported by other narrations. I have not heard anyone reject or disparage his *Ḥadīth*. Despite this al-Bukhārī included him in his book, so his name should be removed from it.

In biography number 216, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Salmān; he narrated from ʿUqail; ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Wahb narrated from him; *fīhi naẓar*.” The fact that Muslim (Ibn Manjūyah; 1987: vol. 1:410) used this narrator’s *Ḥadīth* in his collection of authentic *Ḥadīth* opposes his classification as being weak. Also, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 5:242) criticised his inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* saying, “I do not see any reason to rebuke this narrator’s *Ḥadīth*, and in fact, he is a good narrator. Al-Bukhārī has included him in his *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* but his name should be removed from it.” I agree with Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī’s opinion on this narrator.

In biography number 219, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Maslamah; he narrated from Abū ʿUbaidah Ibn al-Jarrāḥ. Sulaimān Ibn Ḥayyān said that al-Ḥajjāj narrated from al-Walīd Ibn Abī Mālik (from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Maslamah). However, this chain is not authentic.” Al-Bukhārī does not give him a grading as a disparaged narrator, instead he just mentions the weak chain of narration for this *Ḥadīth*, which has been narrated by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī (1984: vol. 2:344). Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 5:286) graded the narrator as “a good narrator” and rejected al-Bukhārī’s inclusion of him in his book, saying, “His name should be removed from it.”

In biography number 222, al-Bukhārī says,

ʿUbaid Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh; he is Abū al-Munīb al-ʿAtakī al-Marwazī; he heard from Ibn Buraida and ʿIkrima; Zaid Ibn Ḥubāb and ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥasan narrated from him; *ʿindahū manākīr*. Abū Qudāmah says, “Ibn al-Mubārak intended to narrate from him but was then informed that he narrated from ʿIkrima *“lā yajtamiʿu al-kharāj wa al-ushr”* and as a result he did not approach him.

Yahyā Ibn Maʿīn and other *Ḥadīth* scholars (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 19:81-82) regarded ʿUbaid Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh as *thiqah*. Also, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 5:322) argued that he is “a good narrator” and rejected al-Bukhārī’s inclusion of him in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.

In biography number 235, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAbbād Ibn Rāshid; he narrated from al-Ḥasan; Ibn Mahdī narrated from him. *yahimu al-shayʾ*.” I have considered al-Bukhārī’s comments on this narrator in the edited version of the manuscript, and have found that al-Bukhārī’s disparagement of the narrator was very light. However, on examining all four of the other copies of the manuscript, I found that al-Bukhārī also mentions that Yahyā Ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān abandoned him, which is a very severe disparagement of a narrator. However, I examined the opinions of the other *Ḥadīth*

scholars and found that Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 14:117-118) graded him as *thiqah*. It is known that Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal was from amongst the balanced scholars of disparagement, while Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān was from amongst the overly strict. Hence it would appear that the opinion of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal is more appropriate. It is also possible that al-Bukhārī quotes Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān here in order to express his surprise that he disparaged him so severely. Also, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 6:79) graded him as a strong narrator and criticised his inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. Another point to note is that despite his inclusion in the book, al-Bukhārī used his *Ḥadīth* in his collection of authentic *Ḥadīth*. As such I argue that his inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* is unwarranted.

In biography number 247, al-Bukhārī says, “^cAbd al-Ṣamad Ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī al-Baṣrī al-^cAwdhī; he is *layyin al-Ḥadīth* and Aḥmad graded him as a weak narrator.” There is some disagreement with regards to this narrator as some scholars of *Ḥadīth* regarded him as weak, whereas others graded him strong. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 6:51) argued that, “his *Ḥadīth* should be written and he is not an abandoned narrator. His name should be removed from *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.” I have not been able to reach a conclusion on this narrator.

In biography number 295, al-Bukhārī says, “^cĀṣim Ibn ^cAmr al-Nakhaʿī; he narrated from Abū Umāmah who narrated from the Prophet. Farqad al-Sabakhī narrated from him and his *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” Al-Bukhārī does not give the narrator a specific grade from amongst the grades of disparagement, but only mentions a chain of narration that he regards is not authentic. I have not been able to find his *Ḥadīth* from Abū Umāmah, but Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Mājah (1954: vol. 1:437-438) has

narrated a *Ḥadīth* from him from two chains via ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, not Abū Umāmah. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 6:348) judged the narrator as “*ṣadūq*, despite al-Bukhārī including him in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*”; his name should be removed from it.” Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 2:356) also commented on the narrator “Allāh willing, there is no problem with him.” It appears to me that he should not have been included in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.

In biography number 301, al-Bukhārī says, “ʿAjlān Ibn Sahl al-Bāhilī; he narrated from Abū Umāma; Sulaimān Ibn Mūsā narrated from him. His *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” There is difference on this narrator even regarding his name: some say it was ʿAjlān Ibn Sahl, and others say it was Sahl Ibn ʿAjlān, which I have discussed in the edited version of the manuscript (biography number 153). Al-Bukhārī did not mention anything disparaging about the narrator except his presence in a single weak chain of narration. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 7:19) commented that this narrator “related one *Ḥadīth* about which I know no problem; he has been included in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, his name should be removed from it.”

In biography number 327, al-Bukhārī says, “Kuraim; he narrated from al-Ḥārith. This chain is not authentic. Abū Ishāq al-Hamdānī narrated from him.” Al-Bukhārī mentions no criticism of the narrator except “al-Ḥārith (that is, the *Ḥadīth* that he narrated from al-Ḥārith) is not authentic. This *Ḥadīth* has been narrated by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī (1984: vol. 4:11) from the chain of Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Abū Ishāq, from Kuraim, from al-Ḥārith, from ʿAlī; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 7:175) rejected this narrator’s inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, saying, “His name should be removed from *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.”

In biography number 367, al-Bukhārī says, “Mughīrah Ibn Ziyād; he is Abū Hishām al-Mawṣilī; he narrated from °Aṭā° and °Ubādah Ibn Nusay. Al-Thaurī narrated from him. Wakī° said “he is *thiqah*.” whereas, others said that there is some contradiction in his *Ḥadīth*.” Al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 28:360-363) mentioned that scholars of *Ḥadīth* differed in grading him, with Ibn Ḥajar (1996:474) indicating this by saying “he is *ṣadūq*, but there are some doubts regarding him.” Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 8:222) also commented saying “He is *ṣadūq*, yet not a strong narrator, al-Bukhārī included him in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, but his name should be omitted from that book.”

In biography number 370, al-Bukhārī says,

Mu°āwīyah Ibn °Abd al-Karīm al-Thaqafī al-Baṣrī; he is Abū °Abd al-Raḥmān. Ḥamid Ibn °Umar said, “People used to say he is *al-Ḍāl* (misguided); he is the freed slave of the family of Abū Bakrah and I have not seen any man more sensible than him. His lineage has been mentioned by Zaid Ibn Ḥubāb. Mūsā Ibn Ismāʿīl narrated from him.

Al-Bukhārī did not give him an explicit grading as a weak narrator, whereas a large number of scholars of *Ḥadīth* regarded him as *thiqah*, as al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 28:200-201) has mentioned. Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 4:136) said, “I did not find him in Abū °Abd Allāh’s (that is al-Bukhārī’s) [*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*] *al-Kabīr* nor [*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*] *al-Ṣaghīr*. I am surprised that his *Aḥādīth* have not been utilised [in the major collections]. He did not narrate very many *Aḥādīth*.” It is possible that al-Dhahabī made these comments after only a cursory glance at the book, since, as is obvious, this narrator is mentioned in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* [*al-Ṣaghīr*]. However, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 8:382) rejected his inclusion in the book. My opinion is also that al-Bukhārī should not have included him in this book.

In biography number 389, al-Bukhārī says, “Muḥill Ibn Muḥriz al-Ḍabbī al-Kūfī; Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān said ‘He was not strong narrator, but his *Aḥādīth* are acceptable’; he

heard the *Ḥadīth* from Abū Wāʾl and Ibrāhīm; Wakī^c and Abū Nu^caim narrated from him.” Al-Mizzī (1992: vol.27:291-293) mentions that many scholars of *Ḥadīth* graded this narrator as *thiqah*, with Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 8:413-414) criticising his inclusion in al-Bukhārī's book, and indicated that Muḥill Ibn Muḥriz al-Ḍabbī should be removed from al-Bukhārī's book of weak narrators.

In biography number 421, al-Bukhārī says, “Yaḥyā Ibn Yazīd; he is Abū Shaiba al-Ruhāwī; he narrated from Zaid Ibn Abī Unaisah; Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAyyāsh narrated from him. His *Ḥadīth* is not authentic.” Al-Bukhārī does not give him an explicit grading as a disparaged narrator, and the only indication of any weakness is down to the weakness of a *Ḥadīth*, which al-Bukhārī himself does not mention. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 9:87) argued, “I do not see any problem with his *Ḥadīth*, though he did not narrate excessively; and I am inclined towards his being *ṣadūq*.” Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 9:198) also criticised al-Bukhārī for including Yaḥyā Ibn Yazīd in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, and he advised that his name be removed from the book.

In biography number 422, al-Bukhārī says, “Yaḥyā Ibn Ya^cqūb Ibn Mudrik Ibn Sa^cd; *yutakallamu fihi*. He is Abū Ṭālib al-Qādī al-Anṣārī.” The master copy of the manuscript does not have any grading of criticism attached to it in this biography. However, what is more accurate is that which is recorded in the other manuscripts (M) and (H), which do mention the above phrase of disparagement, and this is what I have included in the edited version of the text. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 9:199) argued, “his grading is that of *ṣadūq*. He did not narrate anything objectionable; he is *thiqah*. Al-Bukhārī appended his name to his book of weak narrators, but his name should be removed from it.”

In short, in the case of some of these narrators either the ruling of al-Bukhārī may be applicable, or what some of the other *Ḥadīth* scholars have ruled. As is known amongst the researchers in the field of *Ḥadīth*, the only path in these circumstances is to follow the academic methodology of the scholars of *Ḥadīth*. This involves gathering together all those narrations of the narrator which are differed over, and then examining them one by one by comparing them to the trustworthy narrators from his time, in order to distinguish that which is acceptable from that which is weak. From this, it will then be possible to pass judgment on the narrator himself. This however, is a long process that would be the subject of a separate thesis.

The Fourth Type of Criticism: The narrators mentioned in the book without any grading of criticism given to them

These are the narrators about whom al-Bukhārī did not make any direct comments of criticism, rather he only criticised the *Ḥadīth* that they narrated. For example he made comments such as “*lam yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhū*”, “*lā yaṣiḥ*” or “*lam yathbut ḥadīthuhū*” or other comments, which are not official grades of criticism. I have examined these terms previously. After examining which narrators have such comments made about their *Aḥādīth*, I found that all of them narrated very few *Aḥādīth*, perhaps only one or two, or at most three. In number they total twenty nine narrators. My criticism of their inclusion is that in their cases al-Bukhārī gave a grading to the authenticity of the *Ḥadīth* that they narrated, without grading the narrators themselves, and, as is well known, the grading of a *Ḥadīth* in its entirety may be different from the grading of an individual narrator in its chain of narration. I have previously studied the reasons why a narrator may be graded weak (see page 150), and these twenty nine narrators, whose *Ḥadīth* were graded without the

narrator them self, are of three categories: those who are weak; those who are trustworthy and reliable; and those about whom nothing has been mentioned. If a narrator is from the first category, the narrator himself should have been given a specific grading; if the narrator was from the second category, it is not appropriate to include him in this book despite the *Ḥadīth* that he narrated being given an overall grading of weakness; as for the final category, those narrators about whom nothing has been mentioned, they should have been given a grading of “*majhūl*” or “*lā yuʿraf*.”

I have discussed the biographies of these narrators previously in the section on al-Bukhārī's terms of disparagement (see p 151), so there is no need to cite them here a second time. It could be said that al-Bukhārī included these narrators in this book because of an implied weakness, and I agree that this is possible, especially if al-Bukhārī has discussed their biographies in more detail in another work. If such were the case, we could be certain that al-Bukhārī regarded them as weak, due to his statements elsewhere. However, if al-Bukhārī has not passed any judgement on them in his other books, the issue remains ambiguous. This is more so the case for the three narrators whom al-Bukhārī neither grades as weak, nor does he grade the *Ḥadīth* that they narrated to be weak. These are the three narrators whose biographies are numbers 187, 275 and 293. Therefore I have found that some scholars say in their books “al-Bukhārī mentioned so-and-so narrator in the book of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*”, rather than saying “al-Bukhārī graded so-and-so narrator as being weak.” They did so to distinguish between whether al-Bukhārī merely listed a narrator in his book of weak narrators, or whether he explicitly graded him as weak. Indeed, this method has been

used a lot by Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 2:268; vol. 2:276; vol. 2:277).

In short, the scholars of *Ḥadīth* have written specialisations, such as the books which are referred to as the books of '*al-ʿIlal*'. In these books is an explanation of what is authentic from the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator, and what has defects within it. Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī is from amongst those who has contributed greatly to this type of writing, and he is the author of the book '*al-ʿIlal fī al-Ḥadīth*'. Similarly, his book '*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*' also mentions many of these defects in *Ḥadīth*. All of this is undisputed of al-Bukhārī. However, I do not agree with his mentioning of 29 narrators in the book '*al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*' without making any particular judgement upon them, apart from declaring their *Aḥādīth* to be weak. In my opinion he should have discussed them in one of the above mentioned books, or he should have mentioned a judgement upon them, so that it is possible to debate the issue.

Conclusion

In the course of my study I have ascertained that al-Bukhārī has been very careful and restrained in his statements when disparaging narrators, as mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (1986:509), and I would affirm that this indeed the case. However, despite the great care that al-Bukhārī has taken, I feel that he has adopted a methodology in his book that I cannot fully endorse, and indeed other scholars of *Ḥadīth* from earlier times have also found exception with it. From this is that al-Bukhārī has mentioned some narrators in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* for whom the rank of Companionship has been established, where these Companions have narrated very few *Ḥadīth* – perhaps one or two – such that the chains of narration from them have weakness further along the

chain. Thus, although sometimes words of disparagement are found in the biography of a Companion, what is intended is disparagement of another narrator in the chain, not the Companion himself.

Also al-Bukhārī was very severe in his rejection of the *Ḥadīth* narrated by *al-Murji'ah*, and particularly *Ahl al-Ra'ī*. Although I have already explained this in chapter six here I have presented specific biographies of narrators who have no fault except being *Murji'ah*. These narrators were known for their honesty and uprightness due to the principle of acceptance of *Ḥadīth* from the trustworthy innovator. The number of these narrators whom al-Bukhārī has criticised and disparaged reaches 75.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have endeavoured to study the methodology and development of the discipline of disparagement of *Ḥadīth* narrators during the third century *hijrī*. This study has been made through a critical examination of the manuscript *al-Duʿafāʾ* which was authored by one of the most famous scholars of this age, namely Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. I would claim to have succeeded in my endeavour to examine this personality and his work in this thesis. At the same time, I would argue that this is the only work in the English language that deals with this particular subject matter, and hence I am confident that it will add to the corpus of academic study in this field.

The third century *hijrī* was the golden age of the Muslim civilisation with respect to many disciplines, in particular the disciplines of *Ḥadīth*, as they reached the apex of their development, and the usage of terminology became well established. Due to this, the events and scholars of this age have had an enduring effect upon scholars of these disciplines to this day. The importance of this age has been the driving factor for the emphasis given to it by current researchers as well as those in earlier times, as they have striven to understand the reasons for the flourishing of Muslim disciplines during this age.

The disciplines of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* also developed during this age, predominantly due to the beginning of fabrication of Prophetic *Ḥadīth* during the period before it. I have argued that fabrication began in the last third of the first century *hijrī*. Lying about Prophetic *Ḥadīth* did not occur during the lifetime of the Prophet, as has been claimed by some Orientalists. Nor, did it occur during the lifetimes of the elder companions. Rather, it was the tribulations that occurred during

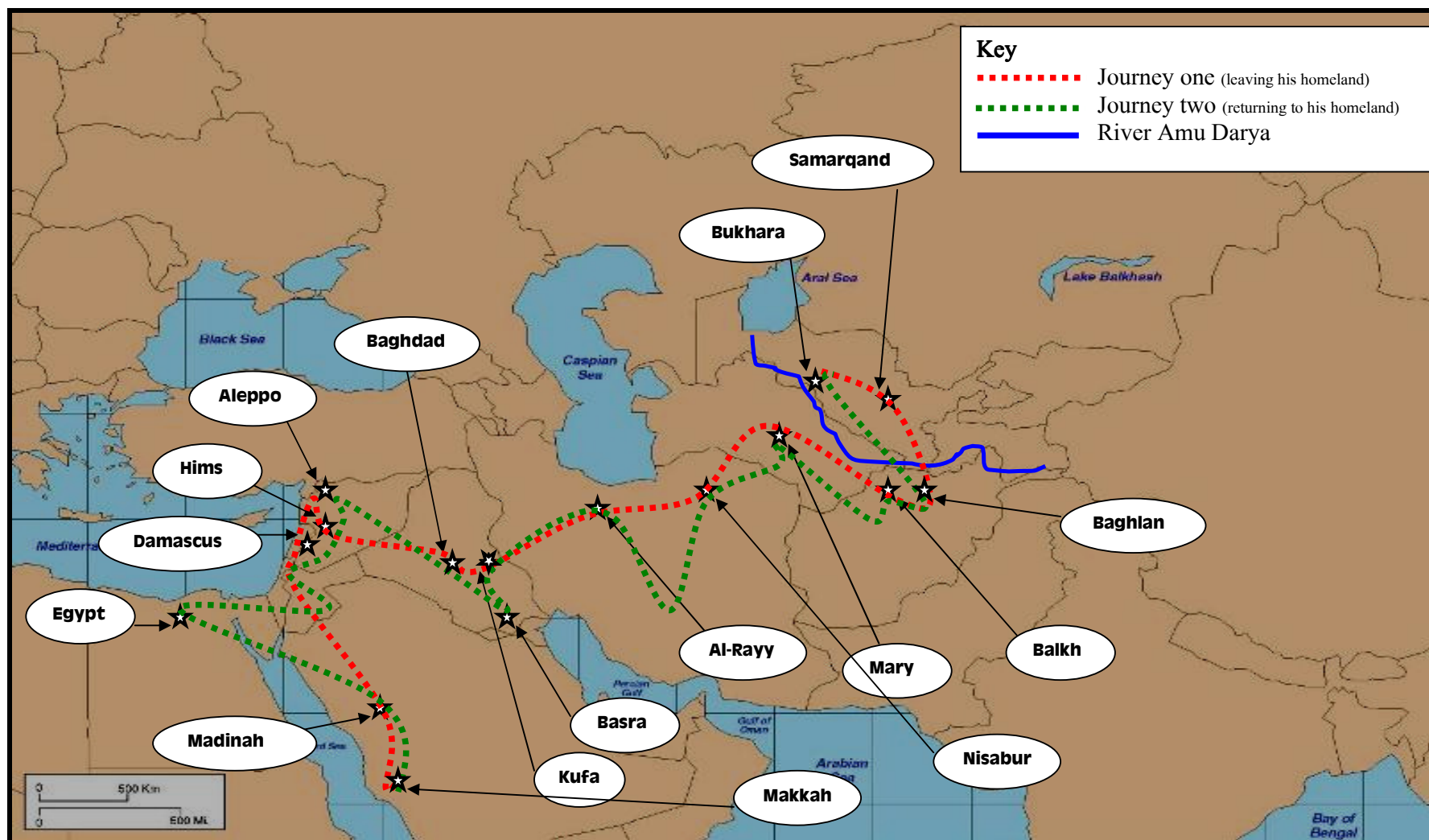
the times of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī that laid the foundations for the beginning of fabrication in *Ḥadīth*. Every fabricator of *Ḥadīth* had some benefit that he obtained by doing so – either political, material, or religious. However, Allāh has said (*Qurʾān*, 15:9) the translation being “Verily We have sent down the *Dhikr* and verily We shall protect it”. This *Dhikr* refers to both the *Qurʾān* itself and the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, as has been explained by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (al-Ashqar, 2004:8). From amongst the methods by which Allāh has protected the Prophetic *Ḥadīth* is that the scholars of *Ḥadīth* memorised the *Ḥadīth* and clarified the authentic from the weak. The scholars of *Ḥadīth* in the first century had a great hand in this, and were responsible for combating the fabrications that began to occur.

From amongst the greatest efforts of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in their defence of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, was their criticism of the narrators of *Ḥadīth*, expressing either their approval or disparagement. This methodology developed until it reached its zenith in the third century *hijrī*, and from amongst the greatest of those who developed it in that period was Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī. He traveled widely, seeking knowledge of the *Ḥadīth* disciplines, taught in the main centres of learning, and wrote many books in defence of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, including the book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* which forms the primary subject matter of this thesis.

Due to the fame of this great scholar, I initially thought that I would not be able to add anything new to his biography and description of his time. However, upon researching into this matter in greater depth, I discovered that certain aspects of his life have not been dealt with by previous researchers with complete clarity, such that I felt the need to present them here in my thesis as a completion of the biography of

al-Bukhārī. After studying his life in detail, I would claim that al-Bukhārī was a “product of his times”. He started his quest for knowledge at the young age of 16, and travelled to all the well-known centers of learning in his time, beginning with his home town of *Bukhārā*, and continuing to the lands nearby him, such as Balkh, Samarqand and Mary. He then proceeded to the seat of the caliphate in Baghdad, and those centres near it such as Kufa and Basra, and then from there on to al-Shām. After al-Shām, he then travelled to the centres of learning in Egypt, and then finally to Yemen. During these travels, he also visited the two Holy Sanctuaries of Makkah and Medina. Each of these centres had specialised in one or more of the Muslim disciplines, such as Arabic Language, or *Fiqh*, or *Ḥadīth*. During the third century all of these disciplines were highly developed and hence al-Bukhārī was able to study each of these disciplines with the best teachers possible. His own speciality was *Ḥadīth*, and the number of his teachers in this field reaches 1080, as al-Bukhārī mentioned himself a month before his death (Ibn Ḥajar; 1986:503). Al-Bukhārī’s teachers, students and companions recognised his excellence in the discipline of *Ḥadīth*, such that they praised him abundantly. For example, Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Khuzaimah argued, “I have not seen anyone under the sky who is more knowledgeable of the *Ḥadīth* of the Messenger of Allāh in memorisation and interpretation, than Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī” (al-Dhahabī; 1992: vol. 12:431).

I have plotted the travels of al-Bukhārī, from his earliest journey in search of knowledge till his return to his home land, on a map of the region. This will aid understanding of the immense effort made by al-Bukhārī in his search for knowledge.



Map no 2. Al-Bukhārī's journey in search of knowledge

As al-Bukhārī was a product of his times, so he wished to produce something new and beneficial for the people of his time and those who will come later. Hence he authored many books, right from his youth. I surveyed all the available works that he produced, and have found them to reach more than thirty book in various disciplines such as jurisprudence, *Qurʾānic* exegesis, creed, and history as well as his own speciality of *Ḥadīth*. He had seven books in the field of *Ḥadīth*, the most important of them being the most famous scholarly book amongst Muslims, namely *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. In the field of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* he authored 10 books, the most famous of which includes *al-Duʿafāʾ*. This work of his is of great importance in this discipline as firstly it is one of the oldest extant works in this field, and secondly al-Bukhārī appears to have summarised his opinions in this work, as though he is presenting his overall opinion on each narrator.

The terminologies used by al-Bukhārī in *al-Duʿafāʾ* and his other works, and also other *Ḥadīth* scholars, in the discipline of *al-Jarḥ* are many and varied, with a wide range of usage in terms of severity and leniency, and depending on who made the statement and about whom the statement was made. Due to this complexity, a number of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* have expressed the wish that a study be made of the statements of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*. Al-Dhahabī argued (1992:82),

We are in need of an in-depth study of the terms which clearly indicate *al-Jarḥ* or *al-Taʿdīl*, and of those which do not clearly indicate any one of the two. More important than this is that we determine in a sound conclusive fashion the methodology of each *Ḥadīth* scholar in his use of terminology, and the intended meanings of his words.

After al-Dhahabī, his student Ibn Kathīr (1995: vol. 1:317) similarly expressed the same desire where he said, “There are many terminologies used by the scholars of *Ḥadīth* that are in need of careful investigation.”

Then two centuries later, al-Sakhāwī (1992: vol. 2:109-110) made the same call by saying,

If only a highly capable researcher were to examine the terms of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* and place each of them at their appropriate rank, along with a detailed explanation of its meanings and usage, then this would be something commendable.

Indeed, my teacher Ibn Ḥajar had been extremely eager to perform this task himself, but was not able to perform it.

It seems that many of the scholars and researchers of the later times shared the same wish to complete a study of the terms of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, such as al-Muʿallimī (1986:257),

It is desired that a researcher would examine the opinions of each of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, along with his usage, and would then compare this usage, and criticism of narrators, to that of other scholars.

From amongst the scholars of more recent times there have been many others who have repeated this call for a study of the terminologies of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*.

These wishes of the earlier *Ḥadīth* scholars encouraged me to collate all the terms of disparagement used in the book *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, and critically analysing them. I have grouped the similar terms amongst them together to give thirty five separate groups. I present below a table outlining all of the terms of disparagement used by al-Bukhārī according to their degree of severity:

Al-Bukhārī's Terms				
Rank no 1	Rank no 2	Rank no 3	Rank no 4	Rank no 5
Ruling on this Rank				
Their <i>ḥadīth</i> are written, to be considered, but are not used as independent proofs		Their <i>ḥadīth</i> are rejected. They are not used as proof nor are they given any consideration		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>fīhi ḍa'if</i>) ② (<i>yahimu al-shay'</i>) ③ (<i>'indahu marāsīl wa waham</i>) ④ (<i>yuhṭamal</i>) ⑤ (<i>laysa bi al-ḥafīẓ 'indahum</i>) ⑥ (<i>lam yakun bial-ḥafīẓ</i>) ⑦ (<i>yatakallamūn fī ḥifẓihī</i>) ⑧ (<i>ṣadūq</i>) ⑨ (<i>laysa bidhālika al-thiqā</i>) ⑩ (<i>ghayru thiqah</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>kathīr al-waham</i>) ② (<i>kathīru al-ghalaṭ</i>) ③ (<i>kathīru al-ghalaṭ</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>ḥadīthuhu laysa bial-ma'rūf</i>) ② (<i>laysa bima'rūf al-ḥadīth</i>) ③ (<i>lā yu'raf</i>) ④ (<i>lā yuktab ḥadīthahu</i>) ⑤ (<i>ḍa'if jiddan</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>sakatū 'anhu</i>) ② (<i>yurmā bilkdhīb</i>) ③ (<i>matrūk al-ḥadīth</i>) ④ (<i>Matrūk</i>) ⑤ (<i>lā yuktab ḥadīthahu albatia</i>) ⑥ (<i>lā yarwī 'anhu</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>kadhāb</i>) ② (<i>waḍā'</i>)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>fīhi naẓar</i>) ② (<i>lam yaṣīḥ ḥadīthuhu</i>) ③ (<i>lā yaṣīḥ ḥadīthuhu</i>) ④ (<i>lā yaṣīḥ</i>) ⑤ (<i>lam yaṣīḥ</i>) ⑥ (<i>ḥadīthuhu laysa min wajhin ṣaḥīḥ</i>) ⑦ (<i>lam yaṣīḥ isnādu ḥadīthihī</i>) ⑧ (<i>lā yu'rafu lahu samā'un ṣaḥīḥ</i>) 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>Munkar alḤadīth</i>) ② (<i>'indahu manākīr</i>) ③ (<i>fī ḥadīthihī b'aḍ al-manākīr</i>) ④ (<i>fī ḥadīthihī manākīr</i>) ⑤ (<i>rawā A'ājīb</i>) 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>ta'rīfu wa tunkar</i>) ② (<i>fī ḥadīthihī lḍīrāb</i>) ③ (<i>lā yutāba' 'alā ḥadīthihī</i>) ④ (<i>lam yutāba' 'alayhī</i>) ⑤ (<i>lā yutāba' 'alayhī</i>) ⑥ (<i>ḥadīthuhu laysa bilqā'im</i>) 				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>ḍa'if</i>) ② (<i>yatakallamūna fīhī</i>) ③ (<i>yutakallamu fīhī</i>) ④ (<i>yatakallamūna fī ḥifẓihī</i>) 				
① (<i>Dhāhib al-ḥadīth</i>)				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① (<i>lam yathbut ḥadīthuh</i>) ② (<i>yukhālifu fī ba'ḍ ḥadīthihī</i>) ③ (<i>yukhālifu al-nās fī ḥadīthihī</i>) ④ (<i>laysa 'indahum bilqawīyy</i>) ⑤ (<i>laysa bilqawīyy 'indahum</i>) ⑥ (<i>laysa bidhālik al-qawīyy</i>) ⑦ (<i>laysa bilqawīyy</i>) ⑧ (<i>layyin 'indahum</i>) ⑨ (<i>layyin al-ḥadīth</i>) 				

Key



Applicable for ranks 1,2,3,4 and 5



Applicable for ranks 1,2,3 and 4



Applicable for ranks 1,2 and 3



Applicable for ranks 2,3 and 4



Applicable for ranks 3 and 4



Applicable for ranks 1 and 2

Figure No. 12: Terms used by al-Bukhārī in his judgment on narrators

During this study of the terms used by al-Bukhārī in this book, I have realised that it is not possible to label a particular narrator justly without first examining what this author has said about the narrator in his other books. For example, in the case of al-Bukhārī one cannot suffice with his statements in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, but must also look to his other books such as *al-Tārīkh*, as well as the statements that al-Tirmidhī has quoted from him. Also, I have discovered that al-Bukhārī has used very precise terminology in his judgements, and has been skilful enough to include in these judgements the positions and opinions of the important scholars who preceded him.

From this study, I have also determined that there are 78 narrators out of the total of 441, due to whose inclusion in *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* al-Bukhārī has been criticised. These criticisms do not reduce the stature of al-Bukhārī in any way, rather they increase it. Under the biography of each of these 78 narrators, I have endeavoured to include the excuses given by the scholars of the past for al-Bukhārī's action in doing so. Where I have been unable to find a statement from another scholar I have tried to present an acceptable excuse myself to explain al-Bukhārī's action.

Also, I have discovered that al-Bukhārī was affected greatly by his teachers, especially in his severity against the people of innovation, and from amongst them the *Murjiʿah* in particular. He himself said, "I did not take from anyone who did not affirm *imān* to be statement and action" (Ibn Ḥajar; 1986: 502). Historically, *al-Irjāʾ* had become one of the most severe and widespread innovations in al-Bukhārī's time.

However, despite his severity against the *Murjiʿah*, I have concluded that al-Bukhārī was generally amongst the balanced and just scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, as has been stated by al-Dhahabī (1990:172). At this juncture I would like to add that al-

Bukhārī was from amongst those scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* from whose criticism one can see honesty, prudence and God-consciousness. As I have explained in the thesis, much of the time he depended upon the statements of his teachers and predecessors this added to over 120 of the biographies in *al-Duʿafāʾ*. This shows two things about him: firstly, an in-depth knowledge of what has been said about these narrators by the scholars before him, and secondly it indicates his honesty and God-consciousness in criticism.

Recommendations

It is of great importance that in this time, when there has been an increase in the study of Islam and Muslims, that the academic institutions focus upon the study of the methodology of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* of narrators. I would also like to make some recommendations for further research in this field.

- There is a need for an edition of the books of narrators of *Ḥadīth*, both in *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, using modern academic methods and based upon original manuscripts, as there are many books available in print which have been written for a commercial rather than an academic intent.
- There is a need for a collection of all the statements of the scholars of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* from all available sources, categorised by the scholar who made them.
- This must then be followed by a critical study from both a linguistic and technical standpoint.
- A comparison between the conflicting statements of the scholars must be made, such that we can attain a sound understanding of their statements and thus lay down a comprehensive set of rulings in the subject.

Appendices

Appendix A

Al-‘Aṣabiyyah (Partisanship)

Al-‘Aṣabiyyah to the caliphs and leaders

This is the first instance of *‘Aṣabiyyah* that appeared in the early centuries of Islam, and which led to the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*. Ibn al-Jawzī (1995: vol. 1:225) argued,

A people, possessing little manners and claiming to follow the *Sunnah*, showed *‘Aṣabiyyah* and fabricated *Ḥadīth* concerning the virtues of Abū Bakr. Amongst these people were those who desired to counter the fabrication of *al-Shī‘a* concerning ‘Alī. Both parties erred and both these two leaders have many virtues mentioned in authentic, *Ḥadīth* such as removes the need for any sort of fabrication.

I will study examples of this in what follows to illustrate how some fabricators invented narrations praising the caliphs and leaders. I have already discussed that which concerns Abū Bakr in my thesis (see p 37), and here present examples from other leaders.

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* concerning ‘Umar has been recorded by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 7:394-395), with his chain, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah that the Messenger of Allāh said, “There are, in the heaven, eighty thousand angels seeking Allāh’s forgiveness for those who love Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; and there are, in the heaven, eighty thousand angles cursing those who hate Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.” This chain contains the narrator, al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Alī al-‘Adawī. Al-Khaṭīb said, after quoting this *Ḥadīth*, ‘This *Ḥadīth* was fabricated by al-‘Adawī on the authority of Kāmil Ibn Ṭalḥah. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Bundār reports this from Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhid al-Samarqandī, from Ibn Lahī‘ah. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhid is *majhūl* so al-‘Adawī quoted it from Kāmil and Kāmil is *thiqah*. The *Ḥadīth* is not preserved on the authority of Ibn Lahī‘ah’. Ibn ‘Adī (1997: vol. 3:199) said, ‘He would fabricate *Ḥadīth* and steal them and attribute them to

people who did not narrate them and he would narrate from people who were unknown. The generality of what he narrates, save a little, is fabrication’. Al-Dāruquṭnī said, “He is *matrūk*” (al-Khaṭīb, 1997: vol. 7:393). Al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:508) said, ‘This narrator has no shame, he does not even think about what he is concocting’. Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim (al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 1:508) said, ‘He is problematic. It is said that Ismā‘īl al-Qāḍī imprisoned him by way of objecting to what he did’. Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 1:241) said, ‘He narrates from people he never saw, and fabricates on the authority of those he did see!’ This *Ḥadīth* has been mentioned by al-Suyūṭī (1996: vol. 1:281-282), al-Shawkānī, (1972:338) Ibn ‘Arrāq, (1981: vol. 1:348) and others in this compilations of fabricated *Ḥadīth*.

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* concerning ‘Uthmān, has been recorded by al-Ḥākim (1986: vol. 3:98), with his chain, that the Prophet described Paradise one day, man stood up and said, ‘Messenger of Allāh, is their lightning in Paradise?’ He replied, “By the One in whose hand is my soul, ‘Uthmān will move from level to level and Paradise will light up for him!” The chain to this *Ḥadīth* contains the narrator, al-Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-‘Ijlī. Al-Dāruquṭnī (al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 1:541) said, ‘He would fabricate *Ḥadīth*’. Al-Ḥākim (1986: vol. 3:98) said, after quoting this *Ḥadīth*, ‘It is authentic, meeting the criteria of al-Bukhārī and Muslim but they did not record it’. Al-Dhahabī (1986: vol. 3:98) criticised these words by saying, ‘It is fabricated. This al-Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-‘Ijlī who report fabrication on the authority of Mālik and others. Would a sane person depend upon such a person let alone finding his *Ḥadīth* in the *ṣaḥīḥ*?!’ Al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:541) also said about the report, ‘A lie.’ al-Shawkānī (1972:341) said, ‘It is

fabricated.’ This *Ḥadīth* was mentioned by al-Shawkānī (1972:341) and others in their compilation of fabricated *Ḥadīth*.

An example of a fabricated *Ḥadīth* concerning ʿAlī, has been recorded by al-Khaṭīb (1997: vol. 2:86), with his chain, on the authority of Anas Ibn Mālīk who said, ‘I was with the Prophet and he saw ʿAlī in front of him and said, “He and I will be a proof against my nation on the Day of Judgment.”’ This chain contains Maṭr Ibn Abī Maṭr. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 8:287) said, ‘He is *munkar* in *Ḥadīth*’. Ibn Ḥibbān (n.d: vol. 3:5) said, ‘He would narrate fabrication on the authority of trustworthy narrators. He would narrate *Ḥadīth* on the authority of Anas Ibn Mālīk that were not his concerning the virtues of ʿAlī and others. It is not permissible to report from him’. Abū Nuʿaym al-Aṣbahānī (1984:148) said, ‘A *Kūfī*, a fabricator of *Ḥadīth* concerning virtues’. Al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 4:127) said, ‘This is *bāṭil* (fabricated)’. This *Ḥadīth* was mentioned by al-Suyūṭī (1996: vol. 1:334), Ibn ʿArrāq (1981: vol. 1:360), al-Shawkānī (1972:373), and others in their compilations of fabricated *Ḥadīth*.

Appendix B

The beginning of the appearance of *isnād*

The first opinion states that the *isnād*¹ was known and used from the earliest times of Islam, but its use intensified after the occurrence of the tribulations. Those who championed this opinion said that in the beginning the Muslims did not require the *isnād* in all cases. This is due to the fact that the companions were all truthful and trustworthy. It should be known that the *isnād* was not a thing unusual or new to the companions at that time and that it was something well known before Islam. The Arabs used to give *asānīd* for the stories they related and for the poetry they used to recite in the pre-Muslim period. However after the tribulations that occurred in the time of the third caliph which led to the killing of the caliph, the splitting of the Muslims and the rise of many parties and groups, people began asking for the *isnād* and requiring that it be given when narrating and began to scrutinize its narrators. Many of the researchers of *Ahl al-Sunnah* were of this opinion. From amongst them Akram al-°Umarī (1984:48), Muḥammad °Ajāj al-Khaṭīb (1981:220) and other than them. Those who held this opinion argued using the saying of Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn (al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 5:695), “In the early days we did not used to ask about the *isnād*; when the tribulations began, they began to inquire about the *isnād* so that they may take the *Ḥadīth* of *Ahl al-Sunnah* and leave the *Ḥadīth* of the innovators.” This quote from Ibn Sīrīn, who died in the year 110 AH / 728 CE, shows that he considered the time of the tribulations, namely the time of the third Caliph °Uthmān Ibn °Affān, to be the start of the practise of questioning regarding the *isnād*. This was

¹ - literall ‘*sanad*’ means a pillar or support, and in reference to *Ḥadīth* it refers to all the individuals and persons who transmitted *Ḥadīth* from the Prophet and then from one another until it reaches us (Kamali, 2005:62)

due to the appearance of fabrications in *Ḥadīth*, and the rise of splitting and differences in the Muslim Empire.

They also argued using the quote from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī who died in the year 196 AH / 811 CE where he said (Ibn Rajab, 1987: vol. 1:355), “The *isnād* was only asked for in the days of al-Mukhtār. The reason for this being that in those days lies were spread regarding ʿAlī.” They also argued using what Muslim (1987: vol. 1:81-82) related from Mujāhid who said:

Bashīr al-ʿAdawī came to Ibn ʿAbbās and began to narrate to him saying the Prophet said such and such. Ibn ʿAbbās did not allow him to relate his *Ḥadīth* nor did he look at it, so he said, Ibn ʿAbbās! What is wrong with me that you do not listen to my *Ḥadīth* which I am narrating to you from the Prophet.’ Ibn ʿAbbās replied, ‘There was a time in which we were to hear someone saying “the Prophet said”, our eyes would hasten towards him and our ears would listen attentively. When the people dispersed we did not take from anyone except that which we already knew’.

A discussion of the era of the companions

A few points connected with the time of the companions should be mentioned here.

The fact that the companions and the followers required that there be an *isnād* after the tribulations that occurred does not mean that they did not used to give the *asānīd* for *Ḥadīth* before the tribulations. In fact some of them used to give the *isnād* at times and not give it at other times. An example of a companion giving the *isnād* before the tribulations is given by Ibn Saʿd (1968: vol. 7:2) who said:

ʿAffān Ibn Muslim informed us saying, ‘Ḥammād Ibn Salamah narrated to us saying, ‘We used to go to Qatādah and he used to say, ‘It has reached us from ʿAlī’ and he almost never gave the *isnād*. When Ḥammād Ibn Abī Sulaymān came to Basra he used to say the like of, ‘Ibrāhīm informed me and so and so and so and so.’ When this reached Qatādah he began to say the like of, ‘I asked Muṭarrāf, and I asked Saʿīd Ibn al-Musaib and Anas Ibn Mālīk informed us.’ So he related his *isnād*’.

The companions used to give *asānīd* for some of their *Ḥadīth* (Fallātah; 1981: vol. 2:17-18). This does not mean that all of the Prophetic traditions used to be narrated with full *asānīd*. The companions did not necessitate mentioning the *isnād* of a *Ḥadīth* when the companion had not heard it directly from the Prophet but rather

from another companion. Before this there was no need to make it clear and seems for all to see due to two matters: chronologic proximity together with the great number of companions and the second matter was that lies and falsehood was not widespread amongst them.

Al-Barā' Ibn 'Āzib clarified this by saying:

It is not the case that we heard directly from the Messenger all that we narrate to you from him; some of it is what we heard from him and some of it is what the companions narrated from him and we do not lie (Al-'Umarī (1984:49).

This is due to the fact that they used to hold religiously to truth, trust and purity. Al-'Umarī (1984:49) argued that,

They did not used to distinguish between that which was transmitted from the Prophet directly and that which was transmitted by an intermediary companion who had heard it from the Prophet due to a lack of *isnād*. Al-Barā' Ibn 'Āzib gave the reason for that as being that the companions did not lie with respect to the Prophet. So a companion would hear a *Ḥadīth* from another companion and it was as though he had heard it with his own ears from the Prophet.

In the beginning this inquisition into the *isnād* was not palatable. This is because the companions use to religiously hold to truth and trust. On the contrary, asking about the *isnād* sometimes used to cause a companion to get angry, as is narrated from Anas Ibn Mālik if he was asked with regard to a *Ḥadīth*, 'did he hear it from the Messenger?' he would get angry and say, "We would never lie about each other" (Al-Khaṭīb; 1972:548).

A discussion of the era of the followers

I also see it fit to mention some issues connected to the time of the followers. Subsequent to the time of the companions was that of the followers; they being the ones who related from the companions, heard from them and learnt from them. For example al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 AH / 728 CE), who was from the first of the

followers when a man asked him saying, “Indeed, you relate to us saying, ‘The Messenger said’ If only you would include the *isnād* of who related it to you.” He replied, “By Allāh! We do not lie nor are we lied to. Indeed I have fought in a military expedition to *Khurāsān*, with me were three hundred companions of Muḥammad.” So al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī excused himself from giving the *isnād* to his *Ḥadīth* due to the large number of companions he had met; they being people of truth and godliness. So as long as we know that they do not lie, not mentioning them does not detract from the importance of the narrations al-ʿUmarī (1984:49).

Some the followers gave importance to the *isnād*, just as the companions did. They used to ask concerning the *isnād* and were strict in their questioning, to the extent that Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān regarded ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī to be the first to scrutinise the *isnād*. So al-Rabīʿ Ibn Khuthaym recited a *Ḥadīth* to al-Shaʿbī who asked him, “Who narrated this to you” He replied, “ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā.” Al-Shaʿbī said, “So I met Ibn Abī Laylā and said to him, ‘who narrated this to you?’ He replied, ‘Abū Ayūb al-Anṣārī, the companion of the Messenger’” (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, 1967: vol. 1:55; al-Rāmḥarmzī, 1971:208). Regarding Ibn Sīrīn, ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī said:

He was of those who would look to the *Ḥadīth* and scrutinise it’s *isnād*. We know of no other who preceded him. It was Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn, then Ayūb and Ibn ʿAwn, then Shuʿbah, then Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Ibn Rajab, 1987: vol. 1:355).

Ibn Rajab (1987: vol. 1:355) argued that, “Ibn Sīrīn, was the first to criticise the narrators, and to separate the trustworthy from the rest”.

The matter became more severe after this, to the extent that al-Zuhrī, who was of the later followers (d. 124 AH / 741 CE) considered negligence of an *isnād* to be possibly sinful in the sight of Allāh. So ʿUtbah Ibn Abī Ḥakīm related that he was with Ishāq Ibn Abī Farwah and al-Zuhrī was with him also. He said, “So Ibn Abī

Farwah began saying, ‘The Messenger said ...’. So al-Zuhrī interrupted him and said, ‘May Allāh destroy you Ibn Abī Farwah! What caused you to risk being sinful in the sight of Allāh, that you have not mentioned an *isnād* for your *Ḥadīth*? You relate to us *Ḥadīth* that have neither *isnād* nor basis’” (al-Ḥākim, 1977:6).

The matter did not rest here, the scholars from the followers increased in their precision and eagerness to attain the authentic *Ḥadīth* of the Messenger, until they began to take long journeys seeking the *Ḥadīth* of the Messenger. The reason for this, as we have stated, is their eagerness to know the authentic *Ḥadīth* of the Messenger. They had read the statement of Allāh (*Qurʾān*, 9:122), فَلَوْلَا نَفَرَ مِنْ كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ which means, “If a party from each group of them were to go out so they could increase their knowledge of the religion they would be able to notify their people when they returned to them so that hopefully they would take warning.” Likewise they knew the *Ḥadīth* of the Messenger, (al-Khaṭīb; 1975:78) “Whoever travels a path seeking in it knowledge, Allāh will make easy for him a path to paradise.” All this after the companions had left and spread amongst the people of the land. Each one of them carried with him *Ḥadīth* he had heard from the Messenger. When the people required it, they spread the knowledge they carried with them, and brought it out to them, such that the seekers of knowledge used to travel to meet them. These kinds of journeys were common place in the time of the followers, for example the narration of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1975:93), with his chain of narration, on the authority of Abū ʿĀliyah who said, “We used to listen to the narrations of the companions of the Messenger from Madīnah while we were in Basra, but we were never truly content until we had travelled to them to hear it from them directly.”

The first appearance of *isnād* (A study of the alternative opinions)

Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110 AH / 728 CE) said, “In the early days we did not used to ask about the *isnād*; when the tribulations began, they began to inquire about the *isnād* so that they may take the *Ḥadīth* of *Ahl al-Sunnah* and leave the *Ḥadīth* of the innovators” (al-Tirmidhī, 1937: vol. 5:695). The explanation that the Muslim scholars gave to this statement has already been given in chapter two. It should be mentioned however, that there are two more opinions as to the meaning of the word *fitnah* in the text quoted from Ibn Sīrīn.

The first opinion

This is the opinion of Schacht who saw the tribulations mentioned as being the killing of al-Walīd Ibn Yazīd (126 AH / 743 CE) as opposed to the killing of the caliph ʿUthmān Ibn ʿAffān. Robson (1955: vol. xv:21) quoted this opinion from Schacht,

Ibn Sīrīn said that it was only after the civil war that men began to ask for authorities. Schacht refers to this and argues that it cannot be genuinely attributed to Ibn Sīrīn who died in 110 AH / 728 CE, as ‘the civil war which began with the killing of the caliph Walīd b. Yazīd (A.H. 126), towards the end of the Umayyad dynasty, was a conventional date for the end of the good old time during which the *Sunnah* of the Prophet was still prevailing’.

I would argue that Schacht, in explaining his opinion, depended on the following two matters. Firstly, he seems to have depended on a text that is mentioned in al-Ṭabarī’s history regarding the events pertaining to the year 126 AH / 743 CE where he says, “The affairs of *Banī Marwān* were in turmoil and the tribulations were stirred up” (al-Ṭabarī; 1939: vol. 7:262). So al-Ṭabarī utilized the word *al-fitnah* to refer to the killing of al-Walīd Ibn Yazīd (d. 126 AH / 743 CE). Secondly, building upon this, Schacht considered the text mentioned with regard to Ibn Sīrīn to be fabricated. This

is due to the fact that Ibn Sīrīn died in the year 110 AH / 728 CE, which was before the tribulations of the killing of al-Walīd Ibn Yazīd.

Discussion of Schacht's opinion

Schacht's claim that the quote from Ibn Sīrīn is fabricated, is not acceptable. None of the *Ḥadīth* scholars ever said the statement was fabricated. The like of this statement is also found in other well established texts. Among the narrators that related this statement of Ibn Sīrīn were Muslim in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Tirmidhī in his *al-Jāmi'*. There is another text which mentions a similar statement from Ibn Sīrīn himself. Aḥmad narrates with his chain that he said:

The tribulations were stirred up, and the companions of the Prophet were in their tens of thousands of which less than a hundred involved themselves; in fact their number did not even reach thirty (Ibn Kathīr, 1997: vol. 7:202).

It is also well known that Ibn Sīrīn was the first to criticise the narrators, and to separate the trustworthy from the rest. He is the one who said (Ibn Rajab, 1987: vol. 1:355), "Indeed this *Ḥadīth* is religion: so let a person look to whom he takes his religion from." In another narration he said (Muslim, 1987: vol. 1:84), "Indeed this knowledge is religion: so look to whom you take your religion from." It is well established from other evidences that the inquisition into the chain began at a very early period immediately after the tribulations that began with the killing of °Uthmān. One such example is as Aḥmad related with his chain on the authority of Ibrāhīm who said, "The *isnād* was only asked for in the days of al-Mukhtār. The reason for this being that in those days lies were spread regarding °Alī." (Ibn Rajab, 1987: vol. 1:355-356). Other such examples have already preceded.

As for the text which I argue he depended upon, it is found in the history of al-Ṭabarī (1939: vol. 5:564) pertaining to the events of the year 126 AH / 743 CE, where he

said, “The affairs of *Banī Marwān* were in turmoil and the tribulations were stirred up.” His usage of the term ‘*al-Fitnah*’ alludes to the killing of al-Walīd Ibn Yazīd (d. 126 AH / 743 CE). Robson (1955: vol. xv: 21-22) refuted this opinion and distanced himself from it. The word ‘*al-Fitnah*’ is used for many kinds of differences, splitting and civil wars between Muslims. Thus it is not possible to unrestrictedly say al-Ṭabarī was referring to a particular event, and hence Schacht’s conclusion is a clear misinterpretation.

The second opinion

This is the opinion of Robson, who saw the tribulations mentioned in the quote from Ibn Sīrīn to mean the revolt of °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 72 AH / 691 CE) against the caliph. Robson’s discussion of this issue is long, but I will quote it here in full in order to make clear my opinion afterwards. After mentioning Schacht’s comments, he said (1955: vol. xv: 21-22),

I have grave doubts about this. There certainly was a civil war at the time mentioned, but it was not the first. There was the civil war between °Alī and Mu°āwīya which produced a breach in Islam which exists to the present day, but it is perhaps too early a period to consider. More likely is the civil war which arose when °Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr set himself up as caliph. In the *Muwatṭā* Mālik tells of Ibn °Umar wishing to go to Makkah during the *fitnah*. He says that if he has difficulty in getting into Makkah, he will act as the Prophet did when he was prevented from visiting the *Ka°ba* in the year of the truce of *Ḥudaibiya*. The circumstances would fit the years 64 AH / 683 CE or 72 AH / 691 CE when °Abd Allāh was besieged in Makkah. As Ibn Sīrīn is said to have been born in 33 AH / 653 CE, he would be old enough to speak with authority on what happened at that period. One may also dispute Schacht’s dating of the end of the good old times in 126 AH / 743 CE. A tradition represents the Prophet as saying the best generation is his own, then those who follow them, then those who follow them. In one version doubt is expressed as to whether he mentioned a third generation. The suggestion is that things will deteriorate after the period mentioned. This fits in quite well with the period of the *fitnah* in Ibn al-Zubayr’s time. It certainly does not allow for the deterioration beginning as late as the second century. There is therefore reason to believe that Ibn Sīrīn is to be credited with the words attributed to him. If that is granted, it would support Horovitz’s theory that the *isnād* entered the literature of tradition in the last third of the first century, as its use so early would be bound to be represented soon in writing.

Discussion of Robson's opinion

He has relied on a number of points in the formulation of his opinion. Firstly, he depended on Mālik's usage of the word *fitnah* to refer to °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr's movement, as is found in *al-Muwattaʿ* with his chain on the authority of °Abd Allāh Ibn °Umar when he left for Makkah intending to perform the rites of °*Umrah* (the lesser pilgrimage) during the tribulations, he said:

If I am prevented from entering the Sacred House we will do as we did when we were with the Messenger. So he entered into the rites of °*Umrah* because the Messenger had entered into the rites of °*Umrah* in the year of *al-Hudaibiya*.

Secondly, that Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn was born in the year 33 AH / 653 CE and that the tribulations of °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr occurred around the year 72 AH / 691 CE. Therefore Ibn Sīrīn's age is compatible with this *fitnah*, and hence he is able to speak about this *fitnah* and explain what happened in it. Thirdly, it depends on the fact that his opinion reinforces the opinion of Horovitz who said that the *isnād* was entered into the discipline of *Ḥadīth* in the last third of the first century.

Robson's opinion is more acceptable than that of Schacht. This is due to the fact that Robson's opinion dates the appearance of *isnād* half a century before that of Schacht. Even so, there are a few issues that remain with Robson's opinion. Firstly, the word 'al-*fitnah*' is used for many kinds of differences, splitting and civil wars between Muslims, as I have already mentioned, so we cannot say that Mālik's usage of the term refers to a particular event. Secondly, the compatibility found between Ibn Sīrīn's age and the occurrence of the *fitnah* of Ibn al-Zubayr cannot be considered an evidence to show that Ibn Sīrīn was talking about the *fitnah* of Ibn al-Zubayr. Ibn Sīrīn may very well have been referring to any number of events not in his time, depending on historical accounts he had taken great care to preserve. Thirdly,

Robson has presented a summary of Horovitz's opinion², and from this summary Horovitz seems to agree with other researchers, such as Sezgin in that the *isnād* began with al-Zuhrī. However, what is more correct is that the *isnād* was present in earlier times, but its usage became widespread later on, to the extent that they required it when transmitting *Ḥadīth* during the time of al-Zuhrī, and began to consider negligence of an *isnād* a possible sin in the sight of Allāh.

The third opinion

This is the opinion of °Umar Fallātah who (1981, vol. 2:13) argued that, the *isnād* is something that has been present since the time of the Messenger. So Fallātah said:

Scrutinising these opinions, pondering over the matter and correcting it, it is seems that the usage of the *isnād* was well before this time; in fact it began when *Ḥadīth* began being narrated. The narrating of *Ḥadīth* was found during the life of the Prophet such that witness could reach those who were not present. Also since the companions may Allāh be pleased with them used to elect one amongst them to attend the Prophet sittings then relate to them what he had heard from the Messenger of Allāh.

Then he (1981, vol. 2:13-19) enumerates some of the evidences that show the companions utilising the *isnād*. I do not differ with him in this; in fact I have mentioned this previously, quoting from the researchers and those who held this opinion. Likewise I have mentioned that the companions did not require the *isnād* to be used, due to their truthfulness and purity. Fallātah (1981, vol. 2:18) argued that,

This does not mean that the companions and the followers required there to be mentioned an *isnād* for all they narrated. Some of them clearly stated that they attributed a *Ḥadīth* to the Prophet but never carried it from him directly.

He then quoted the statements of Anas and al-Barā° that the companions did not lie, as I quoted earlier. For this reason I see no contradiction between this opinion and what I have mentioned. As for what I mentioned under the title “the necessity for a narrator to mention the *isnād*”, and then in reply I can say that it was a particular

²-I have not seen it directly, nor do I know in which book it is found

story containing Muslim rulings which Abū Bakr did not know himself. Hence he asked for the *isnād* and also asked for the narrator or the original transmitter to have a witness with him to affirm what he said. I would argue likewise with regards to the story of ʿUmar and ʿAlī.

In short, I argue that the strongest opinion is that of those who said the Muslims in the beginning did not require and insist on the *isnād* in all cases, but later they began to do so. This was due to the companions' honesty and trustworthiness. It should also be stated that the *isnād* was not something unusual or new to the companions nor to the Muslims at that time. In fact it was well known before the advent of Islam; the Arabs used to give *asānīd* for their stories and for the poetry they used to recite in the pre-Muslim period. However when the tribulations that occurred after the third caliph which led to the killing of the caliph, the splitting among the Muslims after him and the formation of parties and sects, the inquisition into the *isnād* began and it's requirement when narrating, together with a close scrutinisation of the narrators.

Appendix C

al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'ḍīl

The definition of *al-Jarḥ* linguistically

The noun is spelt *al-Jarḥ*. One says *jaraḥahu* (he injured him) *yajraḥuhu* (he is injuring him) *jarḥan* (an injury); it's meaning is to injure someone with a weapon. One also says *jarraḥahu*; it's meaning is he severely injured him with a weapon. The noun can also be spelt: *al-Jurḥ*. For this reason, the plural of this word comes in three forms: *ajrāḥ*, *jurūḥ* and *jirāḥ* (Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 2:422). It may however be said that the preceding meaning is the apparent meaning of the word in the Arabic language. As for the secondary meaning, it is: to show a shortcoming, defect or corruption in a person (al-Ḥarbī, 1985: vol. 1:244). An example of this what Abū °Ubayd related when he said, “And in the sermon of °Abd al-Malik, ‘I have exhorted you but after this exhortation, you did not increase in anything except *istijrāḥan* (meaning corruption)’.” (al-Jawharī, 1984: vol. 1:358; Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 2:422-423; Ibn al-Athīr, 1963: vol. 1:255-256). Al-Zabīdī (1888: vol. 2:130) said, “*al-Jurḥ* is a bodily injury with a sharp metal object or the like; *al-Jarḥ* is an injury inflicted by the tongue and it's like, by shunning or other than that”.

The definition of *al-Jarḥ* technically

The *Ḥadīth* scholars differed as to the exact definition of *al-Jarḥ*. A good definition is as Ibn Abī Ḥātim, (1952: vol. 1:5-6) said, “describing a narrator with what would slightly undermine his narration, weaken it or cause it to be rejected.” One can see from this definition that *al-Jarḥ* is to describe a narrator with one of three characteristics, which are listed below.

Firstly, it may be that the narrator is described with *talyīn* (that which may slightly undermine his narration of a *Ḥadīth*). For example, such a narrator could be described as being “*ṣadūq, sayyiʿ al-ḥifẓ* (truthful, but with a bad memory)”, “*Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥadīth* (an upright narrator)”, “*maḥilluhu al-Ṣidq* (his place is one of truthfulness)”, “*lā baʿsa bihī* (there is no major problem with him)”, “*yuktab ḥadīthuhu* (his *Ḥadīth* is written)” or “*Shaykh*” (al-Dhahabī, 1963: vol. 1:3-4). However his narration may be strengthened by secondary evidence that gives preponderance to his strength as a narrator in that one particular narration only.

Secondly, sometimes a narrator may be described as being *ḍaʿīf* in his narration of traditions. Considering such a narrator weak is done in three circumstances. The first case is that this weakness be unrestricted. In this case none of his narrations will be accepted when he is alone in transmitting a *Ḥadīth*. It is strengthened, however, when it is in conformity to the *Ḥadīth* of a narrator like himself. So it is raised to the level of *ḥasan liḡhayrihi* (*ḥasan* due to others). The second case is that this weakness is restricted to when he is relating only from some of his teachers or from certain countries or at certain times. So his weakness is only restricted to that which he is weak in not to all his narrations. The third case is; when he is considered *ḍaʿīf* with respect to someone else. This only really occurs when we prefer one narrator over another. This does not necessitate considering the narrator to be weak unrestrictedly; it differs depending on the connected evidences relating to that preference (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 1992:10-11). Such a preference could be between a weak narrator and one stronger than he. It may be between a weak narrator and a trustworthy one; it may be between a weak narrator and totally reliable one; or, it may also be between a trustworthy narrator and a totally reliable one.

Thirdly, sometimes a narrator may be described with that which necessitates rejecting his narrations. This is known as *Ḍaʿīf Jiddan*. He does not strengthen other than himself and neither is he ever strengthened (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 1992:10-11).

It is worth mentioning that some of the later *Ḥadīth* scholars used the term *al-Naqd* instead of *al-Jarḥ* even though the early *Ḥadīth* scholars used the term *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* most of the time; sometimes they would say, “*Tamyīz al-Ruwāt* (distinctions of the narrators).” Since the term *al-Naqd* was used frequently by the later *Ḥadīth* scholars it is worth mentioning its linguistic and technical meanings.

The meaning of *al-Naqd* linguistically

There are many meanings to this term in the Arabic language, but the meaning that is important to us now is as Ibn Manẓūr (1882: vol. 3:425) said, “*al-Naqd* or *al-Tanqād* is the differentiation of *Dirhams* (silver coins) and to extract the counterfeit coins from them.” In relation to this we have the *Ḥadīth* of Abī al-Dardāʾ (Ibn al-Athīr, 1963: vol. 5:104) who said, “if you *naqadta* (judge) the people they will *naqadū* (judge) you.”

The meaning of *al-Naqd* technically

Al-Aʿẓamī (1990:5) defined it by saying, “It is possible to define it as distinguishing the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Ḥadīth* from the *Ḍaʿīf al-Ḥadīth* and giving a ruling on a narrator either by establishing his trustworthiness or by criticising him.” It seems that the term *al-Naqd* was used largely from the time of the later *Ḥadīth* scholars. This is because it is the direct translation of the term criticism, since these scholars were constantly discussing and refuting the orientalist. Thus the term that the early *Ḥadīth* scholars

utilised was *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*. In modern times, however, the term *al-Naqd* has become famous among the later *Ḥadīth* scholars; these two terms mean exactly the same thing.

The definition of *al-Taʿdīl* linguistically

The linguists, along with the scholars of peculiar worded *Ḥadīth* and the scholars of Qurʾānic exegesis have mentioned a number of meanings for this term, so I will only mention that which is relevant to this research. *Al-Taʿdīl* is from *Al-ʿAdl* which is justice (opp. of oppression). It is said, *ʿadala ʿalayhi* (he did him justice) in this matter so he is *ʿādil* (just), and *rajulun ʿadlun* (a just man), meaning a person whose testimony you are pleased with and contented with (al-Aʿẓamī, 1990:5). *Al-ʿAdl* is also from among the name of Allāh; it's meaning is the one who does not incline towards his desires such that he might oppress someone in his ruling (al-Jawharī, 1984: vol. 5:1761; Ibn Manẓūr, 1882: vol. 11:431). *Taʿdīl* of something means to rectify; *Taʿdīl* of witnesses means that you say they are trustworthy (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 1992:11).

The definition of *al-Taʿdīl* technically

It is describing the narrator with that which will lead to the *al-Qabūl* (acceptance) of his narrations. The meaning of *al-Qabūl* (acceptance) here is unrestricted, so it includes: The one whose narrations are accepted as *Ṣaḥīḥ lidhātihi* (authentic in and of itself); the one described as *thiqah*; the one whose narrations are accepted as *Ḥasan lidhātihi* (good in and of itself); the one described as *Ṣadūq*. That is due to the fact that their narrations are relied upon in ruling even though their level is slightly lower (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, 1992:11).

In short, there is clearly a close relationship between the linguistic and technical definitions of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, and this indicates the great importance of study of the Arabic language while explaining technical terms. Having examined the meanings of *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* in the usage of the *Ḥadīth* scholars, I can broadly classify this discipline into two branches: theoretical and practical. The theoretical side deals with the principles upon which we identify those narrators who are accepted and those who are rejected, and by which we grade their narrations. The practical side deals with the actual gradation of individual narrators.

Appendix D

A list of books on disparagement of narrators

Due to the importance of the subject of *al-Jarḥ* in the history of Muslim scholarship, I deem it appropriate to list all the books written in this discipline, from the earliest one. This also serves as an introduction to the main topic of my thesis, which is a critical study of al-Bukhārī's *al-Ḍu'afā'*.

Yahyā Ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198 AH / 813 CE), the first book concerning narrators who had been disparaged. Al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 9:83) mentioned it and said, 'He wrote *Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā'*, I have not come across it but Ibn Ḥazm and others quoted from it'.

Yahyā Ibn Ma'īn (d. 233 AH / 847 CE), his work was mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 9:83), al-Sakhāwī (1930:109), and Fū'ād Sizkīn (1971: vol. 1:292) who said it was titled, '*al-Majrūḥīn*'. The pronouncement of Yahyā in this discipline are many and famous and some of his students authored works collating his verdicts that they had asked him about. Examples of such are 'Abbās al-Dawrī, 'Uthmān Ibn Sa'īd al-Dārimī, and al-Daqqāq Ibn Yazīd.

'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234 AH / 848 CE). His work was mentioned by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Naisābūrī (1977:71). He said it was in ten volumes. This was also stated by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1983: vol. 2:360). 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī has many pronouncements concerning disparagement and authentication which are recorded in the books dealing with this discipline, especially Ibn Abī Ḥātim's, *al-Jarḥ wa al-*

Taʿdīl. One of the books of ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī has been printed: *ʿIlal al-Ḥadīth wa Maʿrifa al-Rijāl*. Perhaps the work referred to by al-Ḥākim was this one.

Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Barqī al-Zuhrī (d. 249 AH / 863 CE). His work was mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1956: vol. 2:569) and al-Kattānī (1964:144).

ʿAmr Ibn ʿAlī al-Fallās, Abū Ḥafṣ (d. 249 AH / 863 CE). His work was mentioned by Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (n.d:212) who said that it was a small monograph called, *Taḍʿīf al-Rijāl*. It was also mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:2) and al-Sakhāwī (1963:109).

Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256 AH / 869 CE) who has two books, *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Ṣaghīr* (which has been studied in this thesis) and *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Kabīr*. (see Appendix M for more details).

Ibrāhīm Ibn Yaʿqūb al-Saʿdī al-Jūzajānī (d. 259 AH / 872 CE). The name of his work is *Aḥwāl al-Rijāl* and it has been published with the edition of Ṣubḥī al-Sāmīrī. Some researchers have said that the name of this book is *al-Shajarah fī Aḥwāl al-Rijāl*. Ibn ʿAdī frequently quotes from this book in his *al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.

ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī (d. 264 AH / 877 CE). The name of his book is *Asāmī al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Mutakallam fīhim* and it was published with the notes of Saʿdī al-Ḥashimī. *Ḥadīth* scholars have mentioned other names for this book and some mentioned that this book was actually compiled by al-Bardhaʿī, the student of Abū Zurʿah, others said that al-Bardhaʿī took Abū Zurʿah's original work

and added to it the answers he received from him when asking about certain narrators. Al-Hashimī had researched this issue in the introduction to the book.

Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277 AH / 890 CE). His book was mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1987: vol. 1:35). Abū Ḥātim has many pronouncements in this field which have been quoted by his son in the book *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl*, along with the statements of Abū Zurʿah.

Saʿīd Ibn ʿAmr al-Bardhaʿī, Abū ʿUthmān (d. 292 AH / 904 CE). The name of his book was *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Kadhābīn wa al-Matrūkīn min Aṣḥābi al-Ḥadīth* and it has been published with the edition of Saʿdī al-Hāshimī.

Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī (d. 303 AH / 915 CE). His work is a small monograph entitled *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn* published first in India and then with the notes of Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid. The edition has many mistakes and is in need of revision.

ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAlī al-Jārūd, Abū Muḥammad (d. 307 AH / 919 CE). Ibn Ḥajar (1911: vol. 1:34) said that the name of his book was *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*.

Zakariyyā al-Sājī, Abū Yaḥyā (d. 307 AH / 919 CE). The name of his book is *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn wa al-Mansūbīn ilā al-Bidʿah min al-Muḥaddithīn wa al-ʿIlal* as mentioned by Ibn Khayr (n.d:210) and after him, Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 2:33), who also quoted from it.

Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq Abū Khuzaymah (d. 311 AH / 923 CE), mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:2).

Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥammād al-Dūlābī (d. 320 AH / 932 CE), mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:2) and al-Kattānī (1964:144).

Muḥammad Ibn ʿAmr al-ʿUqaylī, Abū Jaʿfar (d. 322 AH / 933 CE). The name of his book is *al-Duʿafāʾ al-Kabīr* and it was published with the notes of ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Amīn Qalʿajī. This edition is filled with errors.

ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAdī al-Jurjānī, Abū Nuʿaym (d. 323 AH / 934 CE), mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1956: vol. 3:817) who said it was in ten volumes.

Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Tamīm al-Qayrawānī, Abū al-ʿArab (d. 323 AH / 934 CE), as mentioned, and quoted from, by Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 2:138).

Saʿīd Ibn ʿUthmān Ibn al-Sakan, Abū ʿAlī (d. 353 AH / 964 CE), mentioned by Ibn Khayr (1964:211) who said that he never completed it. It was also mentioned by al-Sakhāwī (1963:109).

Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, Abū Ḥātim (d. 354 AH / 965 CE). The name of his book is *al-Majrūḥīn min al-Muḥaddithīn wa al-Duʿafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn* published first in India and then with the notes of Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid. It has many mistakes in it and is in need of revision.

°Abd Allāh Ibn °Adī al-Jurjānī, Abū Aḥmad (d. 365 AH / 975 CE). The name of his book is *al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu°afā° al-Rijāl*. It is one of the most important works in this field. Many scholars summarised it or added notes to it, some of which will be mentioned at the end of this list.

Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī, Abū al-Faṭḥ (d. 367 AH / 977 CE), mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:2) and Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 2:292) who quoted from it. More than one scholar said that it was a huge work.

Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Naisābūrī al-Karābīsī al-Ḥākim al-Kabīr, Abū Aḥmad (d. 378AH/988CE), mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1987: vol. 1:35).

°Alī Ibn °Umar al-Dāruqūṭnī, Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 385 AH / 995 CE). The name of his book is *al-Ḍu°afā° wa al-Matrūkīn* and is published with the notes of Mawfiq °Abd al-Qādir and he wrote a beneficial introduction to it.

°Umar Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Shāhīn, Abū Ḥafṣ (d. 385 AH / 995 CE). The name of his book is *Tārīkh Asmā° al-Ḍu°afā° wa al-Kadhdhābīn* and is published with the notes of °Abd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Qashqarī.

Al-Ḥākim Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh al-Naisābūrī, Abū °Abd Allāh (d. 405 AH / 1014 CE) in his book *al-Madkhal ilā al-Ṣaḥīḥ* and the first part of it was published with the edition of Rabī° Ibn Hādī al-Madkhalī. It was mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:2).

Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Aṣbahānī, Abū Nuʿaym (d. 430 AH / 1038 CE). The name of his book is *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* and it has been published with the edition of Fārūq Ḥamādah.

Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, Abū al-Faḍl (d. 507 AH / 1113 CE). The name of his book is *al-Dhayl ʿalā al-Kāmil* and it is also called *Takmilat al-Kāmil*, it his notes to *al-Kāmil* of Ibn ʿAdī. Al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:2) mentioned it and said that he had not seen it and it was also mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī.

Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā al-Ḥāzimī, Abū Bakr (d. 584 AH / 1188 CE). The name of his book is *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Majhūlūn* which was mentioned by Fārūq Ḥamādah (Abū Nuʿaym, 1984:30).

Yūsuf Ibn Aḥmad al-Shīrāzī (d. 585 AH / 1189 CE). The name of his book is *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* and it was mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 1:118).

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj (d. 597 AH / 1200 CE). The name of his book is *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-Matrūkīn* and is published with the noted of ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī and he wrote a beneficial introduction to it.

Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Nabātī (d. 637 AH / 1239 CE). The name of his book is *al-Ḥāfil* and it is his notes to *al-Kāmil* of Ibn ʿAdī and was mentioned by al-Dhahabī.

Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (d. 748 AH / 1347 CE). He wrote a number of works concerning weak narrators: *Mīzān al-Iʿtidāl fī Naqd al-*

Rijāl and is published with the notes of °Alī Muḥammad al-Bukhārī; *al-Mughnī fī al-Ḍu°aḡā°* and is published with the notes of Nūr al-Dīn °Itr; *Dīwān al-Ḍu°aḡā° wa al-Matrūkīn wa Khalq min al-Majhūlīn wa Thiqāt fihim Layyin* published with the notes of Ḥammād al-Anṣārī.

Aḥmad Ibn Abīk Ibn °Abd Allāh al-Dumyāṭī (d. 749 AH / 1348 CE). The name of his book is °*Umadat al-Fāḍil fī Ikhtiṣār li Kitāb al-Kāmil* (al-Qashqarī, 1989:18).

°Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Ḥusain al-°Irāqī, Abū al-Faḍl (d. 806 AH / 1403 CE). The name of his book is *Dhayl Mīzān al-I°tidāl* and is published with the notes of °Abd al-Qawīm °Abd Rabb al-Nabī.

Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 AH / 1441 CE) and his work is known as *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil* (al-Qashqarī, 1989:18), which is an abbreviation of *al-Kāmil* by Ibn °Adī.

Aḥmad Ibn °Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-°Asqalānī (d. 852 AH / 1448 CE). The name of his book is *Lisān al-Mīzān* and is an abbreviation and revision of *Mīzān al-I°tidāl*.

Appendix E

Division of the era of Abbasid Rule into three periods

The first period		The second period		The third period	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From 132 AH / 749 CE till 232 AH / 846 CE During this period, the Persians great influence over the caliphate 9 caliphs ruled during this period 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From 232 AH / 846 CE till 334 AH / 945 During this period, the Turks gained great influence over the caliphate 13 caliphs ruled during this period. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From 334 AH / 945 CE till 656 AH / 1258 CE During this period, the Seljuks gained influence over the caliphate 15 caliphs ruled during this period.
1	Al-Saffāh, Abū al-°Abbās °Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Alī Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn °Abbās Ruled 132 AH / 749 CE - 136 AH / 753 CE	1	Ja°far al-Mutawakkil Ruled 232 AH / 846 CE - 247 AH / 861 CE	1	Al-Faḍl al-Muṭī° Ruled 334 AH / 945 CE – 363 AH / 973 CE
2	Al-Manṣūr Abū Ja°far °Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Alī Ruled 136 AH / 753 CE - 158 AH / 774 CE	2	Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir Ruled 247 AH / 861 CE – 248 AH / 862 CE	2	°Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭā°i° Ruled 363 AH / 973 CE – 381 AH / 991 CE
3	Al-Mahdī Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn °Alī Ruled 158 AH / 774 CE - 169 AH / 785 CE	3	Aḥmad al-Musta°in Ruled 248 AH / 862 CE – 252 AH / 866 CE	3	Aḥmad al-Qādir Ruled 381 AH / 991 CE – 422 AH / 1030 CE
4	Al-Hādī Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ruled 169 AH / 785 CE - 170 AH / 786 CE	4	Muḥammad al-Mu°tazz Ruled 252 AH / 866 CE – 255 AH / 868 CE).	4	°Abd Allāh al-Qā°im Ruled 422 AH / 1030 CE – 467 AH / 1074 CE
5	Hārūn al-Rashīd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ruled 170 AH / 786 CE - 193 AH / 808 CE	5	Muḥammad al-Muhtadī Ruled 255 AH / 868 CE – 256 AH / 869 CE It was during the time of al-Muhtadī that al-Bukhārī died	5	Al-Muqtadī bi-Amr Allāh Ruled 467 AH / 1074 CE - 487 AH / 1094 CE
6	Al-Amīn Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn Ibn °Abd Allāh Ruled 193 AH / 808 CE - 198 AH / 813 CE	6	Aḥmad al-Mu°tamid Ruled 256 AH / 869 CE – 279 AH / 892 CE	6	Al-Mustaẓhir bi-Allāh, Abū al-°Abbās Ruled 487 AH / 1094 CE - 512 AH / 1118 CE

7	Al-Ma'mūn °Abd Allāh Ibn Hārūn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh Ruled 198 AH / 813 CE - 218 AH / 833 CE	7	Aḥmad al-Mu'ṭadid Ruled 279 AH / 892 CE – 289 AH / 901 CE	7	Al-Mustarshid, Abū Maṣṣūr Ruled 512 AH / 1118 CE - 529 AH / 1134 CE
8	Al-Mu'ṭasim Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh Ruled 218 AH / 833 CE - 227 AH / 841 CE	8	°Alī al-Muktafi Ruled 289 AH / 901 CE – 295 AH / 907 CE	8	Al-Rāshid bi-Allāh, Abū Ja'far Ruled 529 AH / 1134 CE - 530 AH / 1135 CE
9	Al-Wāthiq Hārūn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn Ibn Muḥammad Ruled 227 AH / 841 CE - 232 AH / 846 CE	9	Ja'far al-Muqtadir Ruled 295 AH / 907 CE – 320 AH / 932 CE	9	Al-Muqtafi li-Amr Allāh, Abū °Abd Allāh, Ruled 530 AH / 1135 CE – 555 AH / 1160 CE
		10	Muḥammad al-Qāhir Ruled 320 AH / 932 CE – 322 AH / 934 CE	10	Al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh, Abū al-Muẓaffar ruled 555 AH / 1160 CE - 566 AH / 1170 CE
		11	Muḥammad al-Rādī Ruled 322 AH / 934 CE – 329 AH / 940 CE	11	Al-Mustaḍī', Abū Muḥammad Ruled 566 AH / 1170 CE - 575 AH / 1179 CE
		12	Ibrāhīm al-Muttaqī Ruled 329 AH / 940 CE – 333 AH – 944 CE	12	Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, Abū al-°Abbās Ruled 575 AH / 1179 CE - 622 AH / 1225 CE
		13	°Abd Allāh al-Mustakfi Ruled 333 AH – 944 CE – 334 AH / 945 CE	13	Al-Ẓāhir, Abū Naṣr, (ruled 622 AH / 1225 CE - 623 AH / 1226 CE).
				14	Al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, Abū Ja'far, (ruled 623 AH / 1226 CE - 640 AH / 1242 CE).
				15	Al-Musta'ṣim bi-Allāh, Abū Muḥammad Ruled 640 AH / 1242 CE - 656 AH / 1258 CE). In this year, the Abbasid caliphate came to an end, due to the onslaught of the Mongols.

Appendix F

Some revolts during the third century and their causes

Al-Bukhārī witnessed the reign of nine Abbasid caliphs, four of them from the first period and five from the second. After researching into the history of the Abbasids, it becomes clear to me that this period witnessed great tumult and political upheaval, which sometimes left the caliphate in a state of weakness. This condition assisted the occurrence of a number of revolts in various regions of the empire. After examining these revolts, I can conclude that they arose due to one of two reasons. The first, was that they were based on aspects of belief, such as the *Kharmīyyah* revolt, which lasted for 20 years. The second, was due to the oppression of the governors who were appointed by the caliph. I have already described two of these revolts in my thesis (see p 63). Here, I shall describe some other revolts which occurred during the lifetime of al-Bukhārī. All the details of these incidents would require a separate thesis. The books ‘*al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*’ of Ibn al-Athīr, and ‘*al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*’ of Ibn Kathīr may be consulted for further detail.

The Armenian Revolt

Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad was the governor of Armenia when the cardinal Buqrāt Ibn Aswāt, came to him seeking refuge. Instead, he captured him with his son, and sent them to the caliph al-Mutawakkil. The priests of Armenia met together with Buqrāt’s nephew and his brother in law, Mūsā Ibn Zarārah and vowed to kill Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad because of this. They besieged him in the city of *Tarun* in the month of *Ramaḍān* 237 AH / 851 CE where they killed him and those of his supporters with him. In response, al-Mutawakkil sent an army with Baghā al-Kabīr at its head. He

killed thirty thousand of the Armenians and captured many of them. He also captured Mūsā along with his brothers and sent them to al-Mutawakkil (Ibn Kathīr; 1997: vol. 10:264-265).

The revolt of the people of *Ḥimş*

In the year 240 AH / 854 CE the people of *Ḥimş*, led by Abū al-Mughīth Mūsā Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Rāfiqī, revolted against their ruler. This was due to the fact that the governor killed some of the greatly respected members of the *Ḥimş* people. The caliph of the time ordered he be replaced by Muḥammad Ibn °Abdawayh al-Anbārī, but he likewise oppressed them, so the *Ḥimş* revolted against him as well. After this, the caliph gathered armies from Damascus and *Ramlah* and sent them to Muḥammad Ibn °Abdawayh, ordering him to fight the people of *Ḥimş*. He killed a great number of the *Ḥimş* and expelled the Christians from among them, destroying their churches. In this way the governor suppressed the revolution in *Ḥimş* (Ibn Kathīr; 1997: vol. 10:267).

The revolt of Ibrāhīm Ibn Mūsā

He was Ibrāhīm Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja°far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn °Alī and lived in Yemen. He was known as *al-Jazzār* (the Butcher) due to the large number of Yemenis that he massacred. He began his rebellion in the year 200 AH / 815 CE in Yemen and conquered it after many wars and battles. He then claimed the caliphate over Makkah (Ibn Kathīr; 1997: vol. 10:206).

The revolt of Maḥdī Ibn ʿUlwān

In the year 202 AH / 817 CE Maḥdī Ibn ʿUlwān revolted against the caliph causing strife in the land. In response to this the caliph Ibrāhīm Ibn Maḥdī sent an army led by Abū Ishāq al-Muʿtaṣim Ibn al-Rashīd to quell the revolt. Abū Ishāq subsequently succeeded in suppressing the revolt (Ibn Kathīr; 1997: vol. 10:207).

The revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmed Ibn ʿAbd Allāh

In the year 207 AH / 822 CE ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmed Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿUmar Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib revolted against the governor of ʿAk in Yemen seeking to supplant him with al-Rāḍī who was from the family of the Prophet Muḥammad. This was because the governor of ʿAk oppressed the people and was unjust to them. The people readily joined ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in his revolt and supported his cause. Upon hearing of this revolt, the caliph al-Maʾmūn sent a great army led by Dinār Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, carrying with him a message that if ʿAbd al-Raḥmān stopped the rebellion and obeyed the caliph, he would be pardoned. Upon receiving this message ʿAbd al-Raḥmān agreed to stop the revolt. Thus, Dinār ibn ʿAbd Allāh succeeded in quelling the revolt without spilling a drop of blood (Ibn Kathīr; 1997: vol. 10:217).

Appendix G

The recording of the Prophetic *Sunnah* in the third century

I have already examined the *Musnad* of Aḥmad in my thesis in chapter three (see p 85). Here, I shall examine some of the other famous *masānīd* written at that period, ordered by the author's date of death.

Firstly, the *Musnad* of Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 204 AH / 819 CE). This is the first written *musnad* and it was collated from him by some of the *Ḥadīth* masters of *Khurasān*. It is available in print. It was re-ordered by Aḥmad Ibn °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bannā - commonly known as al-Sā°ātī - into books and chapters, following the order of the books of jurisprudence, and he named it '*Minḥatu al-Ma°būd fī Tartīb Musnad al-Ṭayālīsī*'. It was published in 1372 AH / 1952 CE. Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī was one of the teachers of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā°īl al-Bukhārī and I have presented his biography under Al-Bukhārī's teachers (see p 303).

Secondly, the *Musnad* of Abū Bakr °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn °Isā al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219 AH / 834 CE). He is one of the teachers of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā°īl al-Bukhārī and his *musnad* is published in two volumes with the notes of Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A°zamī and is published in Medina.

Thirdly, the *Musnad* of Abū Muḥammad °Abd Ibn Ḥumaid Ibn Naṣr al-Kishshī (d. 249 AH / 863 CE). He has two *musnads*, the greater and the lesser, and both lack the narrations of many of the companions. The book '*al-Muntakhab Min Musnad °Abd*

Ibn Ḥumaid', which is a selection from the original *musnad*, has been published in two volumes.

Fourthly, the *Musnad* of Abū °Abd al-Raḥmān Baqī Ibn Makhlad al-Andalusī (d. 276 AH / 889 CE). He recorded the narrations of one thousand three hundred companions and ordered them in chapters pertaining to jurisprudence. It is regarded as the most comprehensive *musnad*. It is larger than the *muṣannaḥ* of Ibn Abī Shaybah and the *Muṣannaḥ* of °Abd al-Razzāq. Only its introduction has been printed, and its manuscripts have not yet been found.

Fifthly, the *Musnad* of Abū Sa°id °Uthmān Ibn Sa°id al-Dārimī (d. 280 AH / 893 CE). This is a large *musnad*, and has been published in two volumes in the year 1386 AH / 1966 CE. Some of the *Ḥadīth* scholars refer to this *musnad* as '*al-Sunan*'.

Sixthly, the *Musnad* of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥārith Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abū Usāmah al-Tamīmī (d. 282 AH / 895 CE). Selections of this *musnad* are found under the title *al-Muntaqā*, a manuscript of which is found at *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah*, as is '*al-°Awālī al-Mustakhrajaḥ min Musnad al-Ḥārith*' in *al-Maktabah al-Ḍāhiriyyah* in Damascus. Aḥmad Ibn °Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-°Asqalānī recorded the *zawā'id* (those *Aḥadīth* which are not from amongst the 'Six *Ḥadīth* Books') of this *musnad*, and the *zawā'id* of the *Musnad* of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, and the *zawā'id* of the *musnads* of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, al-Ḥumaydī, Ibn Abū °Umar al-°Adanī, Musaddad, Aḥmad Ibn Manī°, Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Shaybah, and °Abd Ibn Ḥumayd, in his work entitled '*al-Maṭālib al-°Āliyah bi Zawā'id al-Masānīd al-Thamāniyyah*', which has recently been published.

Seventhly, the *Musnad* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn ʿAmr al-Bazzār (d. 299 AH / 911 CE). He has two *musnads*; the greater and the lesser. The greater is called ‘*al-Baḥr al-Zakḥkhār*’ in which the author mentions the authentic and unauthentic *Aḥādīth*. He mentions which narrators are alone in narrating which *Ḥadīth*, and which narrators have parallel routes. Numerous portions of this have been published with the critical notes of Maḥfūẓ al-Raḥmān Zayn Allāh. It was to this *Musnad* that Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Abū Bakr al-Haythamī turned when he wrote its *zawāʿid* in ‘*Kashf al-Astār ʿan Zawāʿid al-Bazzār*’; it is published in four volumes with the critical notes of Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī.

The *masānīd* were not restricted to collating the authentic *Ḥadīth*, they also contained weak *Ḥadīth*. Hence only those who were skilled in *Ḥadīth* and its related disciplines really found them of great benefit. Moreover the method of authorship made it difficult to trace a particular *Ḥadīth* (Abū Zahwu, 1984:366). Then a new direction in authorship was taken and this method was called ‘*al-Ṣiḥāḥ*’ which was to collate the authentic *Aḥādīth* only, and to order these *Aḥādīth* in accordance to the chapters of jurisprudence and other chapters dealing with faith, character etc. This made it easier for the *Ḥadīth* scholars and jurists to find a relevant *Ḥadīth*. Numerous such works were written in this era, and I shall mention *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* in al-Bukhārī’s written works (see p 327). Here I shall examine the other famous work of this kind - *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.

Al-Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim Ibn al-Ḥājġāj al-Qushayrī (d. 261 AH / 874 CE). This holds a status after that of ‘*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*’. He took *Ḥadīth* from one of his teachers al-Bukhārī and, like his teacher, he recorded only the authentic *Aḥādīth*. However,

unlike his teacher, he did not split up the *Ḥadīth* into various parts, rather he placed the whole *Ḥadīth* with its various wordings and routes in one place, hence making it easier to read and follow. Its best edition is that printed by *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah* in 1375 AH / 1955 CE in four volumes containing seven thousand seven hundred and forty seven *Aḥādīth*. It also contains one volume for indexes prepared by Fuʿād ʿAbd al-Bāqī. The *Ḥadīth* scholars have also devoted a great deal of attention in commenting on this work. One of the most famous commentaries to it is '*Ikmāl al-Muʿlim bi Fawā'id Muslim*' of Qāḍī ʿIyād Ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥsubī, a manuscript of which can be found at *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah*. This work is a completion of the work '*al-Muʿlim bi Fawā'id Muslim*' of Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī al-Māzirī. It is published with the critical notes of Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Nayfir by *Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī* in 1408 AH / 1987 CE in three volumes. Amongst the famous commentaries is '*al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj*' of Abū Zakariyyah Yaḥyā Ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī. It is a beneficial but brief commentary, it has been published many times, the most famous of which is that of *al-Maṭbaʿah al-Miṣriyyah* in 1277 AH / 1860 CE. The *Ḥadīth* scholars view *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* as being the most authentic books of *Ḥadīth*. Both authors drew from sources before them such as the *Masānīd* and *Ṣaḥā'if* in addition to the verbal narrations they had received. In this way much of the content of the earlier works, now lost to us, was preserved.

Later, a new direction in authorship was taken (Abū Zahwu, 1984:367) which was to collate *Aḥādīth* in accordance to chapters of jurisprudence only, the point being to highlight jurisprudence. They did not set a condition to record the authentic *Aḥādīth* only, rather their works contain authentic, good, and weak narrations. These works

famously became known as the *al-Sunan*. I have already examined *al-Sunan* Abū Dāwūd in my thesis (see p 88), and here I will examine the other prominent books authored in this period.

Firstly, *al-Jāmi*^c of al-Tirmidhī, Abū °Isā Muḥammad Ibn °Isā al-Sulamī (d. 279 AH / 892 CE). This book of *sunan* includes authentic, good, and weak *Aḥādīth*. He mentioned the defects of the *Ḥadīth* and mentioned only those *Aḥādīth* that are acted upon by the Jurists or were depended on by them. He explained the opinions of the companions and Jurists, and summarised the routes of narration of the *Ḥadīth* sufficing with mentioning one *Ḥadīth* or more in a chapter and then pointing to others that had the same meaning. At the end of this work, al-Tirmidhī added another book called '*al-°Ilal*'. The total number of *Aḥādīth* in this work are 4415. It has been published numerous times in India and Egypt, one of the most famous of which is the edition with the critical notes of Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir in five volumes. Only the first two volumes received his notes, the third was annotated by Muḥammad Fu°ād °Abd al-Bāqī, and the remaining were annotated by Ibrāhīm °Aṭwa. Of the most famous commentaries to it is '*°Arīḍat al-Aḥwadhī °alā al-Tirmidhī*' of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh al-Ishbīlī, famously known as Ibn al-°Arabī al-Mālikī, and it is published in 13 volumes by *al-Maṭba°ah al-Miṣriyyah* at *al-Azhar* and *Maktabah al-°Šawī* in (1350 AH / 1931 CE). Another famous commentary is '*Tūḥfat al-Aḥwadhī Sharḥ Jāmi° al-Tirmidhī*' by Muḥammad Ibn °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakfūrī and is published in ten volumes not including the introduction. °Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī commented on the *al-°Ilal* section of it and this was published in two volumes with the critical notes of Nūr al-Dīn °Itr by *Dār al-Milāh* in 1398 AH / 1977 CE.

Secondly, *al-Sunan* of al-Nasāʾī Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Ibn Shuʿayb (d. 303 AH / 915 CE). He wrote *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* and *al-Sunan al-Ṣuḡhrā* which is commonly referred to as *al-Mujtabā*. It contains the authentic, good, and weak *Aḥādīth* and the number of the latter are relatively few when compared to those found in the other *Sunans*. The number of *Ḥadīth* it records are 5776. As for the *Sunan al-Kubrā* the path chosen by al-Nasāʾī was to record the *Ḥadīth* of every narrator that the *Ḥadīth* scholars had not agreed to abandon. The number of *Aḥādīth* contained in this work are 11770. The *Mujtabā* deals with jurisprudence only and contains 34 chapters where as *al-Kubrā* contains 63 chapters. *Al-Mujtabā* is printed in four volumes with the numbering of ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā* is printed in six volumes with the critical notes of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bundārī. Amongst the commentaries of *al-Mujtabā* is the work *Zahr al-Rubā ʿalā al-Mujtabā* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and the commentary of Nūr al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, known as al-Sindī, both of these commentaries are printed in the margin of *al-Mujtabā*.

Thirdly, *al-Sunan* of Ibn Mājah, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī (d. 273 AH / 886 CE). This is regarded to be one of the ‘Six *Ḥadīth* Books’ which contain *Aḥādīth* pertaining to jurisprudence. Some of the *Ḥadīth* scholars placed it before the *al-Muwaṭṭāʾ* of Mālik Ibn Anas in importance, because the *Aḥādīth* it contains which are additional to what are found in the other five books are many times more than the additional *Aḥādīth* found in the *al-Muwaṭṭāʾ*. Ibn Mājah recorded the authentic, the good, and weak *Aḥādīth*. Indeed, almost thirty fabricated *Aḥādīth* are to be found therein. It is said that Ibn Mājah collated his work from only a small number of references. The number of *Aḥādīth* it contains are 4485. Amongst

the commentaries of Ibn Mājah is *Miṣbāḥ al-Zujājah ʿalā Sunan Ibn Mājah* by al-Suyūṭī and it is printed on the margin of the Delhi edition of Ibn Mājah, and the work *Kifāyah al-Ḥājah fī Sharḥ Sunan Ibn Mājah* of al-Sindī.

Appendix H

The purpose of travelling in search of knowledge

Despite mentioning that travelling in search of knowledge was a religious act, that was performed by the scholars seeking reward from Allāh, there were also certain other purposes for which the *Ḥadīth* scholars travelled. I shall examine here some of the more important of these other reasons, as the exhaustive study of all of them would require a separate thesis.

Firstly, obtaining knowledge. This may be described equally as ‘obtaining *Ḥadīth*’, since obtaining Prophetic *Ḥadīth* is in reality obtaining knowledge. This was the first of the reasons for travel, particularly in the first century *hijrī*, as the companions of the Prophet spread out into the various lands, and did not remain in Medina. They were the carriers of knowledge, despite there being differences between them according to how much time they spent with the Prophet. Some of them had spent most of their time with the Prophet, such as Abū Hurairah, °Abd Allāh Ibn Mas°ūd and °Abd Allāh Ibn °Umar, and so when they spread out into the Muslim lands, their knowledge spread also by their students from amongst the *tābi°īn*. For example, the students of °Abd Allāh Ibn Mas°ūd in Iraq, and the students of Abū al-Dardā° °Uwaymir Ibn Zaid in *al-Shām*, and the students of Abū Mūsā al-Ash°arī in Yemen, and the students of °Abd Allāh Ibn °Amr Ibn al-°Ās in Egypt. So, if a scholar required a narration that was from °Abd Allāh Ibn °Amr, then they were required to travel to Egypt, or if they needed a narration from Abū Mūsā al-Ash°arī then they were required to travel to Yemen. Thus, this was the methodology of study, and was the primary purpose of travel.

Secondly, verification of *Ḥadīth*. One of the clearest evidences for this is what has been narrated by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1975:118-120) with his chain, that °Aṭā° Ibn Abī Rabāḥ said, “Abū Ayyūb travelled to °Uqbah Ibn °Āmir in Egypt to ask him about a *Ḥadīth* that he heard from the Prophet. When he reached Egypt, he went to the house of the governor of Egypt, Maslamah Ibn Mukhallad al-Anṣārī. Maslamah emerged and embraced him, and Abū Ayyūb said to him, “There is a *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet that none from amongst the companions who are still alive have heard directly, except °Uqbah Ibn °Āmir and myself. So direct me to the house of °Uqbah.” So Maslamah sent with him one who could show him his house. When they reached his house, °Uqbah emerged and embraced Abū Ayyūb, and then asked, “What has brought you here, O Abū Ayyūb?” He replied, “There is a *Ḥadīth* about concealing the sins of a Muslim, that none of the companions who are alive have heard directly except you and me.” °Uqbah replied, “Yes, I heard the Prophet say: Whosoever conceals the sins of a Muslim in this life, Allāh will conceal his sins on the Day of Judgment.” Abū Ayyūb said, “You have spoken the truth.” He then mounted his animal, and turned back for Medina. Verification of specific *Ḥadīth* was from amongst the important reasons of travel for the scholars of Islam. There are many examples of scholars travelling in this way.

Thirdly, *al-°Uluw* in the chain of narration. This refers to a narration having very few narrators in its chain, while still remaining *muttaṣil* (connected). The advantage in having a short chain is that the margin for error to be introduced into the narration is reduced, as has been explained by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (2002:255-256). The scholars of *Ḥadīth* even used to consider obtaining short chains of narration to be highly recommended, as has been quoted by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal

(2002:256). The study of *al-ʿālī wa al-nāzil* (the short and long chains of narration) became a distinct discipline of the study of *Ḥadīth*. Whoever wishes to examine the details of this discipline is referred to the book of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (2002:256).

Fourthly, the study of the level of trustworthiness of narrators. The scholars of *Ḥadīth* have expended great effort in determining the level of trustworthiness of narrators. For this purpose they travelled great distances to obtain information about particular narrators. An example of this is what has been narrated by Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 8:246-247) about Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn, one of the *Ḥadīth* scholars of the third century *hijrī*, when he travelled to Abū Nuʿaim al-Faḍl Ibn Dukain to test his memory and his attentiveness. He was accompanied by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Aḥmad Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Ramādī. Ibn Ḥanbal warned Yaḥyā against testing Abū Nuʿaim, claiming that he was known to be trustworthy, but Yaḥyā insisted. So he wrote 30 *Ḥadīth* narrated by Abū Nuʿaim, but after each ten he added a *Ḥadīth* which Abū Nuʿaim did not narrate. He then read these *Aḥādīth* to Abū Nuʿaim. When he reached the eleventh *Ḥadīth*, Abū Nuʿaim stopped him and said that this *Ḥadīth* was not from him, hence cross it out. Again, after the twenty-second, and then the thirty-third *Ḥadīth*, Abū Nuʿaim stopped him again and repeated that he had not narrated these *Aḥādīth*, and so they should be crossed out. He then took hold of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's arm, and said, "As for this one, then he is too God-fearing to do such a thing." He then looked towards Aḥmad Ibn Maṣṣūr, and said, "As for this one, then he is not able to do such a thing." Finally, he looked at Yaḥyā and said, "And as for this one, then this is all your doing!" and then kicked Yaḥyā with his foot. He then stood up and entered his house. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal then said to Yaḥyā, "Did not I tell you that he is trustworthy?" Yaḥyā replied, "This kick from him is

more beloved to me than my whole trip.” This story shows the great importance that the scholars of *Ḥadīth* gave to travelling in order to determine the trustworthiness of narrators.

Fifthly, the gathering of the *Ḥadīth* scholars to discuss the *‘Ilal* (sources of weakness) in narrations and narrators. This activity became famous during the third century *Hijrī*, amongst the scholars who studied the history of narrators. For example, the book *‘Ilal al-Ḥadīth* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim contains many discussions between him and his father, as well as his uncle Abū Zur‘ah al-Rāzī. Thus the scholars of that time made it a recommended action to travel in order to determine the *‘Ilal* of narrations and narrators. One of the best examples of this is the discussion that occurred between Abū ‘Isā Muḥammad Ibn ‘Isā al-Tirmidhī, who was from *Tirmidh* in modern-day Uzbekistan, and Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Isā al-Tirmidhī says at the end of his famous book *al-Jāmi‘* “What is in my book on the subject of *‘Ilal* in narrations and narrators, is what I have obtained from the book *al-Tārikh* of al-Bukhārī, most of which I have debated with al-Bukhārī.” The fact that al-Tirmidhī debated al-Bukhārī on the *‘Ilal* of narrators and narrations is further strengthened by what we find in *‘al-‘Ilal al-Kabīr’* of al-Tirmidhī, where he frequently quotes al-Bukhārī and then debates him. This all shows that the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in the third century *hijrī* used to travel in order to discuss the *‘Ilal* in narrations and narrators.

Appendix J

Al-Bukhārī's teachers

I will discuss below al-Bukhārī's teachers in order of the cities that he visited during his travels.

Balkh

Thus al-Bukhārī began his journey in search of knowledge. He left *Bukhārā* and travelled to *Balkh*, one of the closest towns to *Bukhārā* in which al-Bukhārī had studied. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of the start of his journey, but I can surmise that it began with his journey for *Ḥajj* at the age of 16, which was in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. In researching into al-Bukhārī's teachers I have found five of his teachers who were from *Balkh*. I have already discussed one of them in my thesis (see p 104). I shall list the remainder here chronologically by the year in which they died.

Firstly, Abū al-Sakan; Makkī Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Bashīr al-Balkhī (d. 215 AH / 830 CE). He was one of the eldest of al-Bukhārī's teachers and was close to one hundred years when he died. In fact al-Bukhārī did not study with anyone in *Khurāsān* older than him as has been verified by al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 9:553). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 13:117) mentions that Makkī Ibn Ibrāhīm was a student of 17 *tābiʿīn* (followers). This meant that the *Ḥadīth* Makkī narrated were *ʿālī al-sanād* (had a very short chain of narration). For this reason al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him and learn from him even though Makkī was not a scholar who narrated many *Aḥādīth* as has been mentioned by al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 9:550). This study affected al-Bukhārī's intellectual life and caused him to give great importance to *ʿulū*

al-sanad. Giving importance to *‘ulū al-sanad* was common among *Ḥadīth* scholars and one of the main reasons why they travelled far and wide in search of *Ḥadīth* as I have already explained previously.

The second teacher was Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyah Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sulaymān al-Lu³lū³ī al-Balkhī (d. 230 AH / 844 CE). Qutaybah Ibn Sa‘īd (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 9:379) praised him by saying, “There are only four young scholars in *Khurasān*: Zakariyyah Ibn Yaḥyā al-Lu³lū³ī ... (and he proceeded to mention the others).” This statement from one of al-Bukhārī’s greatest teachers about Zakariyyah Ibn Yaḥyā, led al-Bukhārī to learn *Ḥadīth* from him. Al-Bukhārī narrated *Aḥādīth* from Zakariyyah Ibn Yaḥyā in his collection *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (1982: vol. 8:254) also praised Zakariyyah by saying, “He was one who adhered to the *Sunnah*, and held a high station. He used to refute the people of *bid‘ah* and wrote a book entitled ‘*al-Imān*’. In al-Bukhārī’s time, the belief of *Irjā’* had become widespread, as I have already explained, and al-Bukhārī was very strict against them. One of the reasons for this was the strong influence his teachers had upon him. Among those who influenced him was Zakariyyah Ibn Yaḥyā.

The third teacher was Abū Rajā’ Qutaybah Ibn Sa‘īd al-Thaqafī al-Baghlānī (d. 240 AH / 854 CE). He was one of the most famous of al-Bukhārī’s teachers, and al-Bukhārī narrated many *Aḥādīth* from him. Qutaybah used to travel much. For this reason I am unsure as to whether al-Bukhārī studied with him in Qutaybah’s home town of *Balkh*, in Baghdad or in his second home town of *Baghlān*. Qutaybah lived in *Baghlān* during the time he was studying with Mālik Ibn Anas. During one of these lessons Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf entered. Qutaybah stood up and accused him of

being a *murjī*, whereupon Mālik expelled Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf from the lesson. Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf was angered by this, and since he held a great station in *Balkh*, upon Qutaybah's return, he opposed him and expelled him from *Balkh*. Qutaybah then returned to *Baghlān*. This shows how strong Qutaybah was against the *murji'ah* and al-Bukhārī adopted this stance from him.

The fourth teacher was Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Ibn Shujāʿ Ibn Rajāʾ al-Balkhī (d. 244 AH / 858 CE). Qutaybah Ibn Saʿīd (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 9:379) praised him by saying, “There are only four young scholars in *Khurasān*: Zakariyyah Ibn Yaḥyā al-Luʿlūʿī ... and al-Ḥasan Ibn Shujāʿ.” This statement from one of al-Bukhārī's greatest teachers about al-Ḥasan, led al-Bukhārī to learn *Ḥadīth* from him. Al-Ḥasan Ibn Shujāʿ was not as famous as the other three young scholars mentioned by Qutaybah since he died while he was still fairly young. Ibn Ḥibbān (1982: vol. 8:178) said of him, “al-Ḥasan Ibn Shujāʿ was from the scholars of *Ḥadīth*. He used to travel much in search of *Ḥadīth* and wrote many works. He also had a strong memory, but died while he was still young, so unfortunately he was not benefited from.” The fifth teacher was Jaʿfar Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī al-Balkhī. He was mentioned by Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 24:432) as one of al-Bukhārī's teachers, but I have not come across any biography of him.

Mary

After his stay in *Balkh*, al-Bukhārī travelled to *Mary* in search of *Ḥadīth*. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of the start of his journey, but I can surmise that it began with his journey for *Ḥajj* which was in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. In

researching into al-Bukhārī's teachers I have found six of his teachers who were from *Mary*. I shall list them chronologically by the year in which they died.

The first of his teachers was Abū °Abd al-Rahmān °Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Shaqīq al-°Abdī al-Marwazī (d. 212 AH / 827 CE). He was originally from Baṣra, but his grandfather Shaqīq left Basra and journeyed to *Khurasān* and settled in *Mary*. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 11:371) quotes Abū Zakariyyah praising him by saying, "I do not know of anyone who has come to us from *Khurasān* better than °Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Shaqīq." Additionally al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 10:350) praised him by saying, "He was from among the great scholars of *Khurasān*." Due to his high status as a *Ḥadīth* scholar al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him and learn *Ḥadīth* from him, especially since °Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Shaqīq was the most knowledgeable scholar with regards to °Abd Allāh Ibn Mubārak's *Ḥadīth*. In fact, he may be considered to be one of °Abd Allāh's peers, because he used to learn *Ḥadīth* from the same teachers as °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak, such as Sharīk, Ibrāhīm Ibn Ṭahmān, Ḥammād Ibn Zayd and Qays Ibn al-Rabī°. °Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Shaqīq was well known to have been the one who narrated most *Aḥādīth* from Sufyān Ibn °Uyaynah, as has been quoted by Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 11:371) from al-°Abbās Ibn Muṣ°ab. Because of the great academic position °Alī held, al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him and learn *Ḥadīth* from him.

The second teacher was Abū °Abd al-Rahmān °Abd Allāh Ibn °Uthmān Ibn Jabalah al-Azdī al-°Atakī al-Marwazī, well known as °Abdān (d. 221 AH / 835 CE). He was al-Bukhārī's most famous teacher in *Mary*, and al-Bukhārī related many *Aḥādīth* from him in his collection *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 10:271). Abū °Abd Allāh

al-Ḥākim (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 10:271) praised him by saying, “He is the *Imām* of his town (*Mary*) in *Ḥadīth*.” Due to his high status as a *Ḥadīth* scholar al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him and learn *Aḥādīth* from him.

The third teacher was Abū al-Faḍl Ṣadaqah Ibn al-Faḍl al-Marwazī (d. 226 AH / 840 CE). He was one of those who revived the *Sunnah* in *Khurasān*. Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 13:145) quoted from more than one *Ḥadīth* scholar, among them °Abbās Ibn °Abd al-°Aẓīm al-°Anbarī and °Abbās Ibn al-Walīd al-Narsī, who praised him by saying, “Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal is in Iraq, and Ṣadaqah Ibn al-Faḍl is in *Khurasān* (meaning they are both leaders and revivers of the *Sunnah* in their respective lands)” Ṣadaqah Ibn al-Faḍl was another of al-Bukhārī’s teachers who used to love and adhere to the *Sunnah* and used to refute the people of innovation. It was al-Bukhārī’s love of the *Sunnah* and adherence to it that led him to author the book ‘*al-I°tiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*’.

The fourth teacher was Abū °Abd Allāh Nu°aym Ibn Ḥammād Ibn Mu°āwīyyah al-Khuzā°ī al-Fāriḍ al-A°war al-Marwazī (d. 228 AH / 842 CE). Al-Bukhārī related his *Ḥadīth* in his collection *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* but only when combined with another narrator. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 13:306) mentioned that Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal claimed, “The first scholar to compile a *musnad* was Nu°aym Ibn Ḥammād.” Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal also described him as being very strict against the *Jahmiyyah* and people of innovation due to the influence of his teacher Abū °Iṣmah. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī quoted Ṣāliḥ Ibn Mismār saying, “I heard Nu°aym Ibn Ḥammād saying, ‘I am well versed with the arguments of the *Jahmiyyah* because I used to be one of them. However, when I began to study *Ḥadīth*, I realised that there arguments were based

on *ta'fīl* (negating the attributes of Allāh).” Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī mentioned that ʿAbbās Ibn Muṣʿab said, “(Nuʿaym) authored books refuting Abū Ḥanīfah and Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan. He also authored 13 books refuting the *Jahmiyyah*.” I shall mention shortly that al-Bukhārī also authored works refuting the *Jahmiyyah* due to the influence of Nuʿaym. Ibn Saʿd mentions that Nuʿaym Ibn Ḥammād travelled to the Arabian Peninsula, then to Egypt where the caliph quizzed him regarding the creation of the *Qurʾān*. He refused to give the answer that was expected of him, so they imprisoned him in *Sāmurrāʾ* in Iraq, where he later died. Because of this I am unsure as to whether al-Bukhārī studied with him in the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt or his home town of *Mary*.

The fifth teacher was Abū Sulaymān Aḥmad Ibn Abī al-Ṭayyib al-Baghdādī who was better known as al-Marwazī (d. 230 AH / 844 CE). Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī quoted a single *Ḥadīth* from him in his collection *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, but this does not mean that he only heard this single *Ḥadīth* from him. Aḥmad Ibn Abī al-Ṭayyib stayed for some time in *Mary* and was named ‘al-Marwazī’ after it because of this. His origin, however, was from Baghdad. He then stayed a while in *al-Rayy*. It is also well known that he was an officer in *Bukhārā*. I am uncertain as to whether al-Bukhārī studied with him in *Mary*, in Baghdad, in *al-Rayy* or in his home town of *Bukhārā*. It seems likely however that he studied with him in *Mary* since Aḥmad Ibn Abī al-Ṭayyib stayed there longest.

The sixth teacher was Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Makhlad Ibn Rāhawayh al-Ḥanzalī (d. 238AH / 852CE). He was one of the scholars that al-Bukhārī studied under in *Mary* even though Ishāq visited *Naysabur* for a while and travelled to Iraq and many other

towns. So it may be that al-Bukhārī additionally studied with him in these places. Ishāq was an *imām* in *Ḥadīth*, theology and *fiqh* in *Khurasān* primarily, and was also well known in other places. Nuʿaym Ibn Ḥammād said of him in this regard, “If you see a person from *Khurasān* criticising Ishāq Ibn Rāhawayh then regard him as not being upon the *Sunnah*.” He was one of the scholars whom al-Bukhārī was greatly affected by, and also benefited from greatly, in matters of Muslim knowledge and *Sunnah*. I shall revisit his biography when detailing the sources that Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī depended upon when compiling his book *al-Duʿafāʾ*.

Nisābūr

I have previously discussed this town (see p 105) and have mentioned that it comprises one of the greatest districts of *Khurasān* which Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī visited during his journey in search of knowledge. I have not been able to determine exactly when he entered this town, but it is most likely that the first time he entered it was on his journey for *Ḥajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. *Nisābūr* was famous for its *ʿawālī* chains of *Ḥadīth* and it was for this reason that al-Bukhārī was eager to travel to it and learn from its scholars. My research has led me to three of his teachers in *Nisābūr*. I have already examined one of them in my thesis (see p 105), and the remainder are detailed below.

The first was Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Bakr Ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Tamīmī al-Naysābūrī (d. 226 AH / 840 CE). Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim mentions a very detailed biography of his life and works in his book ‘*Tārīkh Nisābūr*’. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī has summarised this biography in his book ‘*Sīyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*’ (1992: vol. 10:512). I shall quote two statements from his biography. The

first is a quote from Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Mizzī, 1992: vol. 32:34) praising Abū Zakariyyā by saying, “*Khurasān* did not produce a *Ḥadīth* scholar after Ibn al-Mubārak similar to the likes of Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā.” The second is the quote of Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (1982: vol. 9:262) praising him by saying, “He was one of the great leaders of his time in knowledge, piety, character, worship of Allāh and precision in *Ḥadīth*.” It was the like of these statements that led al-Bukhārī to seek out and study with Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā. Al-Bukhārī narrates from him in his collection *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* as has been mentioned by Abū Naṣr al-Kalābādhī (1987: vol. 2:802) in three chapters ‘*Kitāb al-Wakālah*’, ‘*Kitāb al-Aḥkam*’ and ‘*Tafsīr Sūrah Āl-‘Imrān*’. Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā is considered to be of the first level of al-Bukhārī’s teachers, those who heard *Aḥādīth* from the most trustworthy of the *tābi‘īn*. I am surprised by Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 24:433) who claimed he would mention all of the teachers and students of the narrators for whom he wrote a biography, yet he failed to mention Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā as one of al-Bukhārī’s teachers.

The second teacher was Ishāq Ibn Makhlad Ibn Rāhawayh whom I have already discussed when detailing al-Bukhārī’s teachers in *Mary*.

The third teacher was al-Ḥussayn Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Naysābūrī. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (1992: vol. 24:433) mentioned him as one of the teachers of al-Bukhārī from whom he did not narrate in his book *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. I was not able to find a biography for this teacher.

Al-Rayy

As I have mentioned previously, this city was one of the greatest cities close to the district of *Khurasān*, which Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī visited to seek knowledge. I was unable to ascertain the number of times he visited the city. However it seems certain that the first time he visited this city was with his mother and brother on their way to perform the *Ḥajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. He learnt and heard *Aḥādīth* from the scholars of *al-Rayy*. My research shows that Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī learnt from three scholars from this city. It may in fact be the case that he studied with them outside the city, however what concerns me here is that they are all originally from *al-Rayy*. I will mention them here chronologically in the order of the year of their death.

The first of them was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Mūsā Ibn Yazīd Ibn Zādhān al-Tamīmī al-Rāzī al-Farrāʾ more commonly known as al-Ṣaghīr (d. 220 AH / 834 CE). Al-Khalīlī says about him “He was from amongst the greatest scholars and memorisers who were in *al-Rayy*. Abū Ishāq was counted amongst the third level of the teachers of Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, namely the middle level. They did not meet the *tābiʿīn* but they took knowledge from the senior followers of the *tābiʿīn*. Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī narrates *Ḥadīth* from him in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* in the chapter of *Jihād*, the chapter of *al-Ḥayḍ* (Menses) and in other chapters as has been mentioned by Abū Naṣr al-Kalābādhī (1987: vol. 2:802).

The second of his teachers was Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad Ibn Mihrān al-Jammāl al-Rāzī (d. 239 AH / 853 CE). Abū Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī reports (1992: vol. 26:521) on the authority of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Aʿyan that he said “The scholars of *Khurasān*

are three, the first of them Qutaybah Ibn Saʿīd, the second Muḥammad Ibn Mihrān al-Rāzī and the third ʿAlī Ibn Ḥujr.” Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī narrates *Ḥadīth* from him in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* in the chapter of *al-Salāh* (prayer), the chapter of *Kusūf* (Eclipse prayer) and in other chapters as has been mentioned by Abū Naṣr al-Kalābādhī (1987: vol. 2:682).

The third of his teachers in *al-Rayy* is Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs Ibn al-Mundhir al-Ḥanẓalī al-Rāzī. (d. 275 AH / 888 CE). Abū Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī reports (1992: vol. 24:385) that Yūnus ʿAbd al-Aʿlā said, “Abū Zurʿah and Abū Ḥātim are the scholars of *Khurasān*. Al-Mizzī also mentions that Abū al-Qāsim al-Lālakāʾī says that “he (Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs) was the knowledgeable *imām* in *Ḥadīth*, a perfectionist and trustworthy in his narrations.” His biography as mentioned by his son in the introduction of the book *al-Jarḥ wa al-Taʿdīl* is full of his keenness for knowledge and his noble reputation in *al-Rayy*. Al-Bukhārī was very eager to hear from him. He narrates *Ḥadīth* from him in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* in the chapter *al-Muḥṣir* (the one who stipulates a condition for non-completion of *Ḥajj* or ʿ*Umrah*). He was considered to be from the fourth level of al-Bukhārī’s teachers, those who were peers of al-Bukhārī. The fourth of his teachers in *al-Rayy* was Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭālib and he has already been mentioned as a teacher of his in the section for *Mary*.

The Land of *al-Ḥijāz*: Makkah and Medina

Al-Bukhārī travelled to both Makkah and Medina in *al-Ḥijāz*. I will mention here his teachers from these two cities, starting with those from Makkah and then Medina.

Makkah

Aḥmed Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (1986:502) mentions that al-Bukhārī said about himself that he was no more than 16 when he went for *Hajj* with his mother and brother, Aḥmed. Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī remained in Makkah in pursuit of knowledge whilst his brother and mother returned to *Bukhārā*. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:502) also mentions on the authority of Sahl Ibn al-Sarī that al-Bukhārī said “I stayed in *Hijāz* for six years.” He was based there for six years due to the fact that he learnt from many of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* who lived there, or had come there from the different lands for *Hajj* or ʿ*Umrah*. Here I shall discuss in detail two of his teachers he learnt from in Makkah.

The first of them was Abū al-Walīd Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd Ibn ʿUqbah Ibn al-Azraq al-Makkī. He died after 217 AH / 832 CE. He was the grandfather of Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azraqī, author of the famous book ‘*Tārīkh Makkah*’. Abū Naṣr al-Kalābādhī (1987: vol. 1:41-42) mentions that Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī narrates a *Ḥadīth* from him in his book ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’ in the chapters of *al-Tahārah* (Purification), *al-Janāʿiz* (Funerals) and others.

His second teacher in Makkah was Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn ʿIsā al-Ḥumaidī al-Makkī (d. 220 AH / 834 CE) author of ‘*al-Musnad*’. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (1953: vol. 5:57) reported that his father Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs al-Rāzī said, “the most reliable of narrators from Ibn ʿUyaynah is al-Ḥumaidī and he is the leader of the narrators from Ibn ʿUyaynah, he is the trustworthy *imām*.” For these reasons al-Bukhārī strived to learn from him, as he was

the most knowledgeable amongst the narrators from Ibn ʿUyaynah. Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī spent 19 years learning from him as has been mentioned by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 10:617). Indeed, al-Bukhārī narrates the very first *Ḥadīth* in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* from him. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Zubayr al-Ḥumaidī is considered to be amongst the third level of teachers of al-Bukhārī, namely those who did not meet the *tābiʿīn* but studied with the senior level of the followers of the *tābiʿīn*.

Madinah

Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī spent a period of his time in Madinah. He was at that time a young man of 18 years, as he narrates about himself. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:502) mentions that Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī wrote two books when he was in Madinah and he said about himself, “I wrote the book ‘*Qaḍāyā al-Ṣaḥābah wa al-Tābiʿīn*’ (The Lives of the Companions and Successors) and then wrote the book ‘*al-Tārīkh*’ (meaning *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*) in Madinah by the grave of the Prophet. I wrote it in the nights of moonlight.” Then he said “There is hardly a narrator I have listed in ‘*al-Tārīkh*’ except that I have an incident to quote about him. However, I have refrained from listing them all, as I disliked lengthening the book.” One of the important reasons why Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī desired to learn in Madinah was the presence of the students of Mālik Ibn Anas. By hearing *Aḥādīth* from them he achieved the highest level of narrators from Mālik Ibn Anas. After my research and study, I have come across seven teachers of al-Bukhārī in Medina from whom he took knowledge and *Ḥadīth*. Here I shall discuss in detail two of his *Madanī* teachers, and then briefly mention the rest of them.

The first was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abū Uwais al-Madanī Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Uwais Ibn Mālik Ibn Abū ʿĀmir al-Aṣḥabī (d. 226 AH / 840 CE). He was from amongst the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in Madinah, from whom al-Bukhārī narrated greatly. Abū Aḥmed Ibn ʿAdī (1997: vol. 1:527) said, “al-Bukhārī narrated from him greatly.” Some of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 3:129) said, “al-Bukhārī narrated close to 200 *Ḥadīth* from him, and Muslim approximately 20 *Aḥādīth*.” However, without doubt this refers to other than his book *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* and this can be established by two reasons. Firstly, due to some disparagement made against him, which has been classified as weak by al-Nasāʾī (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 3:128). The second reason is because Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (1986:410) studied the way of al-Bukhārī in extracting *Ḥadīth* from Ibn Abū Uwais, and said, “Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both accepted his narrations, except that they did not narrate a great number of his *Ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī narrated only two *Aḥādīth* from him for which there are no other chains of narration.” Despite the disparagement made against him, Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī benefited from him greatly, and remained in his company continuously. Their relationship was so close, that, as Ibn Ḥajar mentions (1986: 410), Ibn Abū Uwais gave al-Bukhārī his original papers, and allowed him to narrate from them whatever he wished, and to mark out that which he considered to be of high standard, and to leave that which he did not.

The second was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mundhir Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qurashī al-Asadī al-Ḥizāmī al-Madnī (d. 236 AH / 850 CE) who was with Mālik Ibn Anas, the greatest scholar in Madinah. It is mentioned that Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mundhir was amongst those who took from and narrated *Ḥadīth* from Mālik Ibn Anas. However Ibn Ḥajar (1984: vol. 1:145) mentions says “I do not think that he met Mālik.

However, he narrated from him, as mentioned in the book ‘*al-Ruwāt ‘an Mālik*’ of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. This chain has some weakness in it.” Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 2:210) spoke against him and criticised him. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mundhir even went to Baghdad to give him *salām*, but Aḥmad did not give him permission to see him, so Ibrāhīm waited until Aḥmad left his house and then gave him greetings. However, Aḥmad still did not return the greeting. The reason for this was, as has been mentioned by al-Tāj al-Subkī (n.d: vol. 2:82), that he was confused regarding the issue of the creation of *Qur’ān* (referring to the *fitnah* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd). When he was asked by the caliph about the *Qur’ān*, he did not give the answer of *Ahl al-Sunnah*. Al-Bukhārī chose to include *Ḥadīth* from him in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* as has been mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (1986:204).

The remainder of al-Bukhārī’s teachers in Madinah were Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Yaḥyā al-Qurashī al-‘Āmirī al-Awaisī al-Madanī (d. 220 AH / 834 CE), Abū Muṣ‘ab Muṭraf Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muṭarrif al-Hilālī al-Madanī (d. 220 AH / 834 CE), Abū Yaḥyā Ayyūb Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Bilāl al-Qurashī al-Taymī al-Madnī (d. 224 AH / 838 CE), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥamza Ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Asadī al-Zubayrī al-Madnī (d. 230 AH / 844 CE), Abū Thābit Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣidīq al-Qurashī al-Madnī.

The Lands of *al-Shām*

I have previously discussed the lands of *al-Shām* (see p 110) and have mentioned that Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī visited during his journey in search of knowledge. I have not been able to determine exactly when he entered this region,

but it is most likely that the first time he entered it was on his journey for *Hajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. One of the most important cities in *al-Shām* is Damascus. It was the capital of the caliphate during the Umayyad era, and hence became a major centre of learning, where scholars of many different disciplines gathered. Al-Bukhārī travelled to *al-Shām* twice, as has been narrated from him by Sahl Ibn al-Sarī (Ibn Hajar, 1986:502). I have found, during my research, the biographies of ten of the teachers of al-Bukhārī from *al-Shām*, and I shall detail below two of them in order to avoid undue length.

The first was Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Wāqid al-Faryābī al-Ḍabbī (d. 212 AH / 827 CE). He was from amongst the greatest and most famous of al-Bukhārī's teachers in *al-Shām*. Al-Bukhārī himself says about him (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 27:58), and his manner indicates his happiness at having been fortunate enough to study under him before his death, "We met Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal while travelling from *Hims*, and he was journeying towards it to meet Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf; but he was too late and Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf died before he could reach him." Al-Bukhārī was very eager to study with him as he was a specialist in narrations from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Al-Bukhārī (Ibn °Adī, 1997: vol. 7:58) said, "He was from amongst the best of the people of his time in narrating from Sufyān." Also, al-Bukhārī was affected by Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf in his severity against the *Murji'ah*, and he says (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 27:58) "I saw a group of people enter upon Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf al-Faryābī, who was then informed that they were *Murji'ah*. So he immediately ordered that they be expelled, whereupon they repented and returned to the way of *Ahl al-Sunnah*."

The second was Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿAmr al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī (d. 245 AH / 859 CE), who was better known as Duḥaym. He was the Judge of Jordan and Palestine. Abū Dāwūd (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 16:499) said about him, “He was a *Hujjah*. There was none similar to him in Damascus.” Al-Khalilī (Ibn Ḥajar, 1984: vol. 6:132) said, “He was one of preservers of *Ḥadīth*, accepted by the scholars of Islam, and depended upon for his accreditation and disparagement of the narrators in *al-Shām*.”

The other teachers of al-Bukhārī in *al-Shām* were, Abū Muḥammad al-Walīd Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Nakhhās al-Ḍabbī al-Jazarī, Abū al-Mughīrah ʿAbd al-Quddūs Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Khawlānī al-Ḥimṣī al-Shāmī (d. 212 AH / 842 CE), Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Hishām Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Sulaymān al-ʿAtir al-Dimashqī (d. 216 AH / 846 CE), Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Wuḥāzī al-Shāmī al-Dimashqī (d. 222 AH / 852 CE), Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam Ibn Nāfiʿ al-Bahrānī al-Ḥimṣī (d. 222 AH / 852 CE), Abū al-Naḍr Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī al-Farādisī (d. 227 AH / 857 CE), Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿIsā Ibn Maymūn al-Tamīmī al-Dimashqī (d. 233 AH / 863 CE), Abū al-Walīd Hishām Ibn ʿĀmir Ibn Nuṣair Ibn Maysarah al-Dimashqī (d. 245 AH / 859), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Wahb Ibn ʿAṭīyyah al-Dimashqī.

Egypt

I have already discussed Egypt from a historical point of view as a centre of learning. It is also one of the most famous places which al-Bukhārī visited during his quest for knowledge. He visited Egypt twice, as has been quoted by Sahl Ibn al-Sarī (Ibn Ḥajar; 1986:502). There is no doubt that the first time he visited Egypt was after he

performed *Hajj* with his mother and brother. He studied therein and learned from some of the great scholars of Egypt. My research has led me to five biographies of al-Bukhārī's Egyptian teachers. Although it is possible that al-Bukhārī studied with them outside of Egypt, what is significant here is that they were of Egyptian origin or settled there. Here I shall discuss in detail two of his Egyptian teachers, and then briefly mention the rest of them.

The first was Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf al-Tinnīsī al-Kilā°ī al-Miṣrī, who died in the year 218 AH / 833 CE. He was originally from Damascus, but he travelled to and later settled in *Tinnīs* (a town in Egypt). He was from among the great students of Mālik Ibn Anas. In fact, °Abd Allāh was the most trustworthy narrator of Mālik's book *al-Muwaṭṭā*. Yaḥyā Ibn Ma°īn (al-Mizzī; 1992: vol. 16:335) said, "There is no-one on the face of the earth (in the third century *hijrī*) who is more trustworthy in narrating the book *al-Muwaṭṭā* than °Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf al-Tinnīsī". It was due to this that al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him. Al-Bukhārī said of him, "He is the most precise of the narrators of *al-Shām*." Al-Bukhārī attributed him to *al-Shām* because he was originally from there, although it is possible that al-Bukhārī actually studied with him in *al-Shām*, or perhaps even Medina, as °Abd Allāh studied with Mālik there. Ibn °Adī (1997: vol. 5:342) said, "Even though al-Bukhārī gathered together the accounts of many narrators, he depended, for the most part, on °Abd Allāh for the narrations of Mālik. Further detail may be obtained from the book *al-Kāmil* (1994: vol. 16:333-336).

The second was Abū Ja°far Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī, who was better known as Ibn al-Ṭabarī (d. 248 AH / 862 CE). He was originally from *Ṭabaristān*, but later settled

in Egypt. Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ was from amongst the most famous of the third century scholars who were masters of both *fiqh* and *Ḥadīth*. He was praised by the greatest of the third century *Ḥadīth* scholars, among them Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Faḍl Ibn Dukayn. It was due to this that al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him, and in fact he narrated many *Aḥādīth* from him in his work *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, as has been mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (1986:405). Al-Bukhārī (al-Mizzī; 1994: vol. 1:343) himself said of his teacher, “Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ was a trustworthy and truthful narrator. I do not know of anyone of worth to have disparaged him.” Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, °Alī Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Numayr and others used to regard Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ as a trustworthy narrator. Yaḥyā Ibn Ma°īn used to say when asked a question, “Rather, ask Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ for he is more precise.” Al-Khaṭīb (1997: vol. 4:417) said, “All of the great scholars of *Ḥadīth* used to depend on the *Ḥadīth* of Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ except for Abū °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā°ī, who did not narrate from him, regarding him to be a weak narrator and speaking against him. However, it is not as al-Nasā°ī believed. Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ was an arrogant man and had a difficult temperament. Al-Nasā°ī experienced this temperament in one of his lessons and thereafter began to disparage him.

The remainder of al-Bukhārī’s Egyptian teachers were Abū Muḥammad Sa°īd Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sālim, more famously known as Ibn Abī Maryam al-Jumaḥī (d. 224 AH / 838 CE), then Abū °Uthmān Sa°īd Ibn Kathīr Ibn °Ufayr al-Miṣrī (d. 226 AH / 840 CE) and Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn Bukayr al-Qurashī al-Miṣrī (d. 231 AH / 845 CE), as has been mentioned by al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 24:431) and al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 2:5).

Iraq

I have already discussed Iraq from a historical point of view as a centre of learning. Baghdad, Kufa and Basra are some of the most famous cities which al-Bukhārī visited in Iraq during his quest for knowledge. There is no doubt that al-Bukhārī visited Iraq on his way to perform the *Hajj* in the year 210 AH / 825 CE. However, al-Bukhārī returned to Iraq after having completed his *Hajj*. Sahl Ibn al-Sarī (Ibn Hajar; 1986:502) quotes al-Bukhārī saying of himself, “I visited Basra four times. As for Kufa and Baghdad, I am unable to count how many times I have visited them.” My research has led me to five biographies of his Iraqi teachers. Although it is possible that al-Bukhārī studied with them outside of Iraq, what is significant here is that they were of Iraqi origin or settled in Iraq. I shall discuss in detail two of his most famous teachers from each of the three cities mentioned above.

In Baghdad, the first was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal Ibn Hilāl al-Shaybānī al-Marwazī al-Baghdādī (d. 241 AH / 855 CE). His mother left Mary while pregnant with him, and he was then born in Baghdad, where he subsequently lived till his death. He travelled to the most famous centres of learning of the third century, in search of knowledge. He became one of the most well-known scholars of *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh* of the third century. For this reason, al-Bukhārī was very particular about studying with him and learning *Ḥadīth* from him. Abū Bakr al-Athram (Mizzī, 1994: vol. 1:454) said, “One day we were with Abū ʿUbaid, discussing an issue, and someone asked about an opinion mentioned by al-Athram, ‘Whose opinion is that?’ So I replied, ‘The one who has no one greater than him, not in the East nor the West – Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.’ To this Abū ʿUbaid said, ‘He has spoken the truth.’” Also, Naṣr Ibn ʿAlī (Mizzī, 1994: vol. 1:455) said, “Aḥmad Ibn

Ḥanbal was the best of the people of his time.” Al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 1:470) mentioned that the virtues of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal are many, and if one attempted to list them all it would require a book in itself.

The second was Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn Ibn ʿAwn Ibn Biṣṭām al-Ghaṭafānī al-Baghdādī (d. 233 AH / 847 CE). He was the *Imām* of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* in his time. Al-Khaṭīb (1997: vol. 14:182) said about him, “He was a pious, learned *Imām* who was a preserver of *Ḥadīth*, trustworthy and accurate.” His method of writing *Ḥadīth* indicates his leadership in his discipline, as he would write each *Ḥadīth* having obtained it from upto thirty chains. ʿAlī Ibn al-Maḍīnī said, “We do not know of anyone else from the time of Adam who has written as many *Ḥadīth* as Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn” (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 31:547). Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn became a scale by which the people of his time could be measured. Al-Fallās said, “If you see a man criticise Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn, then know that he is a liar and fabricator of *Ḥadīth*. Such people are angered by Yaḥyā as he exposes the affairs of the liars” (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 31:557). Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn was a man of many virtues, and further detail may be found in the books of al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 31:543–568) and al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 11:71–96).

The remainder of al-Bukhārī’s teachers in Baghdad were Abū al-Ḥasan Surayj Ibn al-Nuʿmān Ibn Marwān al-Jawharī al-Baghdādī (d. 217 AH / 832 CE), Abū ʿUthmān, Saʿīd, Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḍabbī al-Wāsiṭī al-Bazzāz, more commonly known as Saʿdawaih (d. 225 AH / 839 CE) and Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṣabāḥ al-Bazzāz al-Dūlābī al-Baghdādī (d. 227 AH / 841 CE) as has been mentioned by al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 24:431) and al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 2:5).

In Kufa, the first was Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl Ibn Dukayn al-Mullaʿī al-Aḥwal al-Kūfī (d. 218 AH / 833 CE). ‘Dukayn’ is his title, but it has become famous as his name. Al-Bukhārī narrated a great deal from him, and he is from the elders of al-Bukhārī’s teachers. He was known to be a specialist in the *Ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī (al-Dhahbī, 1992: vol. 10:156). Due to this al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him. I have already mentioned the incident that occurred between him and Yaḥyā Ibn Maʿīn, which indicates the strength of his memory and his status amongst the *Ḥadīth* scholars. Further detail may be found in the books of al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 23:197–220) and al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 10:142–157).

The second in Kufa was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Numair al-Hamadānī al-Ḥāzimī al-Kūfī (d. 234 AH / 848 CE). He was a man who combined learning with understanding, following the Prophetic way with asceticism, as has been mentioned by Ibn Junayd (al-Mizzī, 1994: vol. 25:569). Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 11:456) used to praise him and called him the ‘Pearl of Iraq.’ Due to this al-Bukhārī was eager to study with him when he arrived in Kufa. Further details may be found in the books of al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 25:566–570) and al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 11:455).

The remainder of al-Bukhārī’s teachers in Kufa are Abū Muḥammad Ṭalq Ibn Ghannām Ibn Ṭalq Ibn Muʿāwiyah al-Nakhaʿī al-Kūfī (d. 211 AH / 826 CE), Abū Muḥammad ʿAbaid Allāh Ibn Mūsā Ibn Abī al-Mukhtār al-Kūfī (d. 213 AH / 828 CE), Abū al-Haytham Khālīd Ibn Makhlad al-Qaṭawānī al-Bajalī al-Kūfī (d. 213 AH / 828 CE), Abū Muḥammad Khallād Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Safwān al-Sulamī al-Kūfī (d. 213 AH / 828 CE), Abū ʿĀmir Qabiṣah Ibn ʿUqbah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sufyān al-

Suwā'ī al-Kūfī (d. 215 AH / 830 CE), Abū Muḥammad Thābit Ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Kinānī al-Kūfī (d. 215 AH / 830 CE), Abū Ishāq Ismā'īl Ibn Abān al-Warrāq al-Azdī al-Kūfī (d. 216 AH / 831 CE), Abū Ghassān Mālik Ibn Ismā'īl al-Nahdī al-Kūfī (d. 217 AH / 832 CE), Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaymān al-Bajalī al-Kūfī (d. 220 AH / 835 CE) and Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Bishr Ibn Salm Ibn Musayyib al-Hamdānī al-Bajalī al-Kūfī (d. 221 AH / 836 CE) as has been mentioned by al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 24:431) and al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 2:5).

In Basra, the first was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Najīḥ al-Sa'dī, Ibn al-Madīnī al-Baṣrī (d. 234 AH / 848 CE). He authored many books, the most famous of which is his '*al-'Ilal*'. Al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 11:60) has enumerated twenty-six books of his. He was amongst the most knowledgeable people of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*, as has been mentioned by Ibn Maḥdī (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 11:45). From the signs of his status was that when Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal wished to refer to him, he would use his *kunya* rather than his actual name, as mentioned by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (al-Dhahabī, 1992: vol. 11:43). Further detail may be found in the books of al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 21:5–35) and al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 11:41-60).

The second in Basra was Abū al-Walīd Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṭayālīsī al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī (d. 227 AH / 840 CE). He was a jurist and *Ḥadīth* scholar, as mentioned by al-Rāzī (1952: vol. 9:66). Al-'Ijlī (1984:458) said, "He was trustworthy and accurate in narration, and narrated from seventy female *Ḥadīth* scholars." He was a specialist in narrating the *Ḥadīth* of Shu'bah, so al-Bukhārī was particular about learning from him when he arrived in Basra. Further detail may be

found in the books of al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 30:226–232) and al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 10:341-347).

The remainder of al-Bukhārī's teachers in Basra are Abū Hamām al-Ṣalt Ibn Muḥammad Ibn °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baṣrī (d. 200 AH / 815 CE), Abū °Āṣim al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Makhlad Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī al-Nabīl al-Baṣrī (d. 212 AH / 825 CE), Abū al-Munīr Badal Ibn al-Muḥabbir Ibn al-Munabbih al-Tamīmī al-Yarbu°ī al-Baṣrī (d. 215 AH / 828 CE), Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn °Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muthannā Ibn °Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Baṣrī (d. 215 AH / 828 CE), Abū Muḥammad Ḥajjāj Ibn al-Minhāl al-Anmāṭī al-Sulamī al-Baṣrī (d. 217 AH / 830 CE), Abū °Uthmān °Affān Ibn Muslim Ibn °Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī (d. 219 AH / 832 CE), Abū Ḥudhayfah Mūsā Ibn Mas°ūd al-Nahdī al-Baṣrī (d. 220 AH / 833 CE), Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd Ibn Shabīb al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī (d. 222 AH / 835 CE), Abū Bakr °Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Aswad al-Baṣrī (d. 223 AH / 836 CE), Abū Salamah Mūsā Ibn Ismā°īl al-Munqarī al-Tabudhakī al-Baṣrī (d. 223 AH / 836 CE), Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Kathīr al-°Abdī al-Baṣrī (d. 223 AH / 836 CE), Abū al-Nu°mān Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl al-Sadūsī al-Baṣrī (d. 223 AH / 836 CE), Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Sinān al-°awaqī al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī (d. 223 AH / 837 CE), Abū Ayyūb Sulaimān Ibn Ḥarb al-Baṣrī (d. 224 AH / 838 CE), Abū al-Faḍl al-Rabī° Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Muqṣam al-Ashnānī al-Baṣrī (d. 224 AH / 838 CE), Abū °Umar Shihāb Ibn °Abbād al-°Abdī al-°Aṣrī al-Baṣrī (d. 224 AH / 838 CE), Abū Ma°mar °Abd Allāh Ibn °Amr Ibn Abī al-Ḥajjāj al-Minqarī al-Baṣrī (d. 224 AH / 838 CE), Abū °Umar Ḥafṣ Ibn °Umar Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Sakhbarah al-Ḥawaḍī al-Baṣrī (d. 225 AH / 839 CE), Abū Muḥammad Qays Ibn Ḥafṣ al-Tamīmī al-Dārimī al-Baṣrī (d. 227 AH / 841 CE), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Bashār al-Ramādī al-Baṣrī (d. 230 AH / 844

CE), Abū Mūsā Muḥammad Ibn al-Muthannā Ibn ʿUbayd al-ʿAnazī more commonly known as al-Zamin al-Baṣrī (d. 252 AH / 866 CE) and Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Bashshār Ibn ʿUthmān al-ʿAbdī more commonly known as Bundār al-Baṣrī (d. 252 AH / 866 CE) as has been mentioned by al-Mizzī (1994: vol. 24:431) and al-Baghdādī (1997: vol. 2:5).

Appendix K

Al-Bukhārī's written works

Al-Bukhārī's written works are the greatest testimony to his scholarship and superiority. I have ascertained thirty four works mentioned in his biographies from various sources or otherwise attributed to him. These are:

1. '***Akhbār al-Şifāt***' this book is not in print. This has been mentioned by Fū'ād Sizzkīn (1971: vol. 1:349).
2. '***Al-Adab al-Mufrad***' this book is famous and has been printed many times. Abū al-Khaīr Aḥmad Ibn al-Jalīl al-Bukhārī al-Kirmānī al-Bazzār narrated it from al-Bukhārī. This book has a printed explanation by the name '*Faḍl Allāh al-Şamad fī Tawḍīḥ al-Adab al-Mufrad*' authored by Faḍl Allāh al-Jīlānī. The book '*al-Adab al-Mufrad*' is one of the most important books on the subject of the manners of the Prophet which are relevant to the Muslim in his day to day life.
3. '***Asāmī al-Şaḥābah***' this book is not in print, but Ibn Ḥajar (1939: vol. 1:1) mentioned it by the name '*Tārīkh al-Şaḥābah*' saying, "The first person I know who wrote about the *Şaḥābah* was al-Bukhārī". al-Baghawī quoted from him in his book '*Mu'jam al-Şaḥāba*', as did Ḥājī Khalīfah (n.d: vol. 1:89) and Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 2:16).
4. '***Kitāb al-Ashribah***' it was mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517), Ḥājī Kalīfah (n.d: vol. 2:1392) and Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 2:16).

5. '*Birr al-Wālidān*' it was mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (1986:516), Ḥājī Kalīfah (n.d: vol. 1:238) and Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 2:16).

6. '*Al-Tārīkh al-Awsaṭ*' this is the same book that is printed mistakenly under the name '*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*' with checking by Abū Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zāyid as was verified by Muḥammad Awlād °Itū (1999:430). This book was narrated by Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Khaḥfāf (d. 294AH / 906CE) and Abū Muḥammad Zanjawayh Ibn Muḥammad al-Zāhid al-Labbād (d. 318AH / 930CE). This has been mentioned by more than one scholar of history and *Ḥadīth*, among them al-Dhahabī (n.d: vol. 3:396), Ibn Naḍīm (1978:322), Ibn Khayr (1963:205), Ibn Ḥajar (1986:516), Barūkalmān (1962: vol. 3:178) and Sizkīn (1971: vol. 1:347).

7. '*Al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*' this book is not in print; it has been mistakenly printed under a different name, as I have previously discussed. Al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 20:312) and Ibn Ḥajar (1986:516) amongst others have made mention of this book. It has been related from al-Bukhārī on the authority of °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ashqar al-Qāḍī. Al-Raūdānī (1988:155) said, "This historical work (meaning '*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*') is written specifically about the *Ṣaḥābah*, and he was the first author to write such a book". I have already mentioned that its name was '*Asāmī al-Ṣaḥābah*'; this is what Ibn Ḥajar called it in '*Tārīkh al-Ṣaḥābah*'. Ibn Khayr (1963:206-207) argued that "al-Bukhārī's book '*al-Ḍu'afā' wa al-Matrūkīn*' is his book, '*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*'". This however is untrue. He only made such a statement because the

chain he had for his book ‘*al-Ḍu‘afā’*’ ended at Abī Ja‘far Shaīkh Ibn Sa‘īd, who is also one of the narrators of the book ‘*al-Ḍu‘afā’*’. I shall examine this during the discussion of the book ‘*al-Ḍu‘afā’ al-Ṣaghīr*’.

8. ‘*Al-Tārīkh fī Ma‘rifat Ruwwāt al-Ḥadīth wa Naqlat al-‘Athār wa al-Sunan wa Tamyīz Thiqātihim min Ḍu‘afā’ihim wa Tārīkh Wafayātihim*’ the book has not yet been printed. Fū‘ād Sizkīn (1971: vol. 1:347) has mentioned this book with this name. It appears to me, however, that this is the same book as the one entitled ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*’ which I shall mention next. This is because the former contains much the same subject matter as the latter.
9. ‘*Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*’ Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl al-Muqrī‘ related this book from al-Bukhārī. This book is in print.
10. ‘*Al-Tawārīkh wa al-Ansāb*’ this book is not yet in print. Fū‘ād Sizkīn (1971: vol. 1:347) mentioned this book by saying, “The book ‘*al-Tawārīkh*’ has no real format to it, it merely mentions some useful pieces of information or important historical facts.”
11. ‘*Al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*’ this book is not yet in print. It has been mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517), Barūkalmān (1962: vol. 1:179), Ḥajī Khalīfah (n.d: vol. 1:443) and Ismā‘īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:16).
12. ‘*Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr fī al-Ḥadīth*’ this book is not yet in print. Ḥajī Khalīfah (n.d: vol. 1:564-565) mentioned it saying, “‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-

Ashqar related it from al-Bukhārī. This book is from his existing works as has been mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar.” This, however, is not correct since it is well known that °Abd Allāh al-Ashqar only related a single book which was ‘*al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*’. It seems to me that the word ‘*al-Tārīkh*’ has somehow been changed to ‘*al-Jāmi*’ when it reached Ḥājī al-Khalīfah.

13. ‘*Al-Jāmi*’ *al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Mukhtaṣar min* °*Umūr Rasūl* Allāh *Ṣallā Allāh °Alāihi wa Sallam wa Sunanihi wa Aḥāmīhi*’ It is printed and more widely known by the name ‘*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*’. This book needs no introduction. The best study of it that I have read is a book by °Abd al-Ghanī °Abd al-Khālīq by the name of ‘*al-Imām al-Bukhārī wa Ṣaḥīḥihi*’.

14. ‘*Al-Jāmi*’ *al-Kabīr*’ this book is not in print. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517), Ḥājī Khalīfah (n.d: vol. 1:571) and Ismā‘īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:16) have all mentioned it.

15. ‘*Khalq Af’āl al-°Ibād wa al-Radd °Alā al-Jahmīah wa Aṣḥāb al-Ta’fīl*’ Yūsuf Ibn Raīhān Ibn °Abd al-Ṣamad related it from al-Bukhārī. Al-Farbarī did likewise and the book has been published in many different prints.

16. ‘*Raf’ al-Yadaīn Fī al-Ṣalāh*’ Abū Ishāq Maḥmūd Ibn Ishāq al-Khuzā‘ī related it from al-Bukhārī. The book is in print.

17. ‘*Kitāb al-Riqāq*’ this book is not yet in print. Ismā‘īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:16) mentioned it.

18. '*Al-Sunan fī al-Fiqh*' this book is also not yet in print. Ibn al-Nadīm (1978:322) and Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:16) have mentioned it.
19. '*Al-Ḍu'afā' al-Ṣaghīr*' this book shall be examined in great detail, as it is the book that will be studied and verified in this thesis.
20. '*Al-Ḍu'afā' al-Kabīr*' this book is not yet in print. Barūkalmān (1962: vol. 3:179) has made mention of it. Ibn 'Adī (1997: vol. 1:402), al-Dhahabī (1963: vol. 4:136) and Ibn Ḥajar (n.d: vol. 3:267) among others have quoted it.
21. '*Al-ʿAwālī*' the book is not yet in print. Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:566) quoted Ḥājī Khalīfah making mention of it, but this is a mistake from al-Baghdādī. Ḥājī Khalīfah says, "al-Bukhārī's '*al-ʿAwālī*' was verified by al-Taqī Ibn Taymīyah". So the book is authored by Ibn Taymīyah and not al-Bukhārī.
22. '*Kitāb al-I'tiṣām Bil-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*' this book is not yet in print. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517) mentions it.
23. '*Kitāb al-ʿAqīdah wa al-Tawhīd*' the book is not yet in print. It was mention by Fū'ād Sizkīn (1971: vol. 1:349).

24. '*Kitāb al-ʿIlal fī al-Ḥadīth*' the book is not yet in print. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517) mentions it.
25. '*Al-Fawā'id*' the book is not yet in print. It was mention by Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517).
26. '*Al-Qirā'ah Khalf al-Imām*' Abū Ishāq Maḥmūd Ibn Ishāq al-Khuzā'ī related it from al-Bukhārī. This book has been published in many prints.
27. '*Qaḍāyā al-Ṣaḥābah wa al-Tābi'īn wa Aqāwīlihīm*' the book has not yet been published. al-Khaṭīb (1997: vol. 2:7), al-Dhahabī (1992: vol. 2:400) and Ibn Ḥajar (1986:502) make mention of it.
28. '*Al-Kunā*' Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Shu'āib al-Ghāzī related it from al-Bukhārī. This book has been published at the end of the book '*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*'. Al-Mu'allimī (*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, n.d: vol. 8:94) said of this, "Even though it is not part of the book '*al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*', it is like a conclusion to it."
29. '*Al-Musnad al-Kabīr*' This book is not yet in print. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517) makes mention of it.
30. '*Al-Mabsūṭ fī al-Ḥadīth*' this book is not yet in print. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517), Ḥājī Khalīfah (n.d: vol. 2:1581) and Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:16) make mention of it.

31. ‘*Mashaykhah al-Imām al-Bukhārī*’ this book is not yet in print. Ibn al-Subkī (1964: vol. 2:214) makes mention of it.
32. ‘*Kitāb al-Hibah*’ this book is not yet in print. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517) and Ḥājī Khalīfah (n.d: vol. 2:1472) make mention of it.
33. ‘*Kitāb al-Haī’ah*’ this is the same book as the previously listed book, ‘*Kitāb al-Hibah*’. Ismā‘īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:16) makes mention of it. It seems to me that the title was inadvertently distorted by him.
34. ‘*Al-Wahdān*’ the book is not yet in print. Ibn Ḥajar (1986:517) and al- Ismā‘īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1951: vol. 1:16) both make mention of it. This listing of al-Bukhārī’s works, on so many different subjects, shows us the strength of knowledge that he managed to gather during his studies and research.

Appendix L

The 26 missing biographies from the printed

edition of *al-Duʿfāʾ*

ترجمة رقم 6 ؛ وهي : " إبراهيم بن الفضل ؛ أبو إسحاق المخزومي المديني ، منكر الحديث ، يروي عن : المقبري . "

وترجمة رقم : 107 ؛ وهي : " خصيب بن جندر ، يكلّم فيه ، واستعدى عليه شعبة في الحديث "

وترجمة رقم : 138 ؛ وهي : " سعيد بن سلام ؛ أبو الحسن البصري ، عن : الثوري ، منكر الحديث "

وترجمة رقم : 153 ؛ وهي : " سهل بن عجلان الباهلي عن : أبي أمامة ، روى عنه : سليمان بن موسى ، لم يصح عنه حديثه . "

وترجمة رقم : 200 ؛ وهي : " عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن الطائفي ، روى عنه : وكيع ، فيه نظر " و ترجمة رقم : 203 ؛ وهي : " عبد الله بن خراش : منكر الحديث . "

وترجمة رقم : 210 ؛ وهي : " عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر بن أبي مليكة المليكي القرشي ، منكر الحديث . "

وترجمة رقم : 218 ؛ وهي : " عبد الرحمن بن قارب بن الأسود ، عن النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ، من ثقيف . حدثنا أبو أبي أويس ؛ عن أبيه ، عن ابن إسحاق ، عن عبد الله بن مكرم ، لم يصح . "

وترجمة رقم : 219 ؛ وهي : " عبد الرحمن بن مسلمة ، عن : أبي عبيدة بن الجراح . قاله سليمان بن حيّان ، عن الحجّاج ، عن الوليد بن أبي مالك ، لا يصح . "

وترجمة رقم : 253 ؛ وهي : " عَبْدُ الْقُدُّوسِ بْنُ حَبِيبِ الْكَلَاعِيِّ ، عَنْ : أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الشَّرْعِيِّ ؛ وَعِكْرَمَةَ ، رَوَى عَنْهُ : حَيْوَةُ ، فِي حَدِيثِهِ مَنَّاكِيرٌ . "

وترجمة رقم : 254 ؛ وهي : " عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ بْنُ عُمَرَ ؛ أَبُو يَكْرِ الشَّامِيُّ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 256 ؛ وهي : " عَبْدُ الْغُفُورِ ؛ أَبُو الصَّبَّاحِ الْوَاسِطِيُّ ، تَرَكَوهُ ؛ مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 265 ؛ وهي : " عُثْمَانُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ ؛ أَبُو عَفَّانَ الْمَدَنِيُّ الْعُمَيْيُّ الْقُرَشِيُّ ، عَنْ : ابْنِ أَبِي الزُّنَادِ ، وَالْمُنْكَدِرِ ، عَنْهُ مَنَّاكِيرٌ " .

وترجمة رقم : 287 ؛ وهي : " عِمْرَانُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ ؛ أَبُو ثَابِتٍ الَّذِي سَمِعَ : أَبَاهُ ، وَأَبَا عبيدة بن مُحَمَّدٍ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ ، وَهُوَ : ابْنُ عُمَرَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ الزُّهْرِيُّ ، رَوَى أَيْضاً عَنْ : عُمَرَ بْنِ سَعْدٍ " .

وترجمة رقم : 304 ؛ وهي : " عَقِيلُ الْجَعْفَرِيُّ ، عَنْ : أَبِي إِسْحَاقَ ، عَنْ سُوَيْدِ بْنِ غَفَلَةَ . وَسَمِعَ الْحَسَنَ قَالَ : دَخَلْتُ عَلَى سَلْمَانَ الْفَارِسِيِّ ، رَوَى عَنْهُ : الصَّفْقُ بْنُ حَزْنٍ ، وَعِكْرَمَةُ بْنُ عَمَّارٍ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 305 ؛ وهي : " عَبَّاسُ بْنُ مَيْمُونٍ ؛ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ الْبَصْرِيُّ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 306 ؛ وهي : " عَبْدُ الْأَعْلَى بْنُ أَبِي الْمَسَاوِرِ ؛ الزُّهْرِيُّ ؛ الْكُوفِيُّ ؛ أَبُو مَسْعُودٍ الْخَزَّازِ ؛ هُوَ مَوْلَى بَنِي زُهْرَةَ ، عَنْ : الزُّهْرِيِّ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 348 ؛ وهي : " مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ بْنِ عُمَرَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ ؛ الزُّهْرِيُّ ، عَنْ : الزُّهْرِيِّ ، وَأَبِي الزُّنَادِ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 390 ؛ وهي : " مُنْكَدِرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ الْمُنْكَدِرِ ؛ النَّيْمِيُّ الْقُرَشِيُّ الْمَدَنِيُّ ، عَنْ : أَبِيهِ . قَالَ ابْنُ عُيَيْنَةَ : لَمْ يَكُنْ بِالْحَافِظِ . وَهُوَ يُحْتَمَلُ " .

وترجمة رقم : 391 ؛ وهي : " النُّعْمَانُ بْنُ ثَابِتٍ ؛ أَبُو حَنِيفَةَ الْكُوفِيُّ ، مَاتَ سَنَةَ خَمْسِينَ وَمِائَةً . حَدَّثَنَا نَعِيمُ بْنُ حَمَّادٍ : ثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ سَعِيدٍ ؛ وَمُعَاذُ بْنُ مُعَاذٍ ، سَمِعْنَا الثَّوْرِيَّ يَقُولُ : أُسْتُتِيبَ أَبُو

خَيْفَةَ مِنَ الْكُفْرِ مَرَّتَيْنِ . حَدَّثَنَا نُعَيْمٌ : ثَنَا الْفَزَارِيُّ قَالَ : كُنْتُ عِنْدَ الثَّوْرِيِّ ، فَتَعَيَّ أَبُو خَيْفَةَ ، فَقَالَ : الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ ؛ وَسَجَدَ ، قَالَ : وَكَانَ يَنْقُصُ الْإِسْلَامَ عُرْوَةُ عُرْوَةٍ . وَقَالَ - يَغْنِي - الثَّوْرِيُّ : مَا وَلَدَ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ مَوْلُودٌ أَشْتَمُ مِنْهُ . حَدَّثَنَا صَاحِبُ لَنَا عَنْ حَمْدُويَةَ قَالَ : قُلْتُ لِمُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مَسْلَمَةَ مَا لِرَأْيِ الثُّعْمَانِ دَخَلَ الْبُلْدَانَ كُلَّهَا إِلَّا الْمَدِينَةَ ، قَالَ : إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - قَالَ : لَا يَدْخُلُهَا الدَّجَالُ وَلَا الطَّاغُوتُ ، وَهُوَ دَجَالٌ مِنَ الدَّجَاجِلَةِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 394 : يهو : " النَّضْرُ بْنُ مُطَرِّفٍ . قَالَ يَحْيَى الْقَطَّانُ : سَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ : إِنْ لَمْ أُحَدِّثْكُمْ فَأَمِّي إِذَا زَانِيَةً ، قَالَ يَحْيَى : فَإِنَّمَا تَرَكْتُ حَدِيثَهُ لِهَذَا " .

وترجمة رقم : 407 : وهي : " وَاقِدٌ ؛ أَوْ وَاقِدُ بْنُ سَلَامَةَ ، عَنْ : يَزِيدَ الرَّقَاشِيِّ . حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ سُلَيْمَانَ : ثَنَا ابْنُ وَهْبٍ : سَمِعَ وَاقِدًا أَوْ وَاقِدًا . وَقَالَ : ابْنُ يُوسُفَ ، عَنْ اللَّيْثِ وَغَيْرِهِ ، عَنْ ابْنِ عَجْلَانَ ، عَنْ وَاقِدِ بْنِ سَلَامَةَ ، وَلَمْ يَصِحَّ حَدِيثُهُ " .

وترجمة رقم : 423 : وهي : " يَزِيدُ بْنُ أَبَانَ ؛ الْبَصْرِيُّ ، كَانَ شُعْبَةً يَتَكَلَّمُ فِيهِ .

وترجمة رقم : 424 : وهي : " يَزِيدُ بْنُ رَيْبَعَةَ ؛ أَبُو كَامِلٍ ؛ الدِّمَشْقِيُّ ؛ الصَّنَعَاتِيُّ - صَنْعَاءُ دِمَشْقَ - ، عَنْ : أَبِي أَسْمَاءَ ، حَدِيثُهُ مَنَاقِيرٌ " .

وترجمة رقم : 425 : وهي : " يَزِيدُ بْنُ زِيَادٍ ، عَنْ : الزُّهْرِيِّ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

وترجمة رقم : 432 : وهي : " يُوسُفُ بْنُ عَطِيَّةَ ؛ الْبَصْرِيُّ ، مُنْكَرُ الْحَدِيثِ " .

Glossary of Technical Terms

Glossary of Technical Terms

Many of the terms listed below have specific meanings in the *Ḥadīth* disciplines, and hence their exact meaning is not conveyed in an English translation. I therefore argue that they are best understood in their original Arabic form. However, despite this I have listed below approximate translations below for the Arabic terms used in the thesis.

<i>A[°]ājīb</i>	peculiarities, oddities
Abī	father of (<i>majrūr</i> form)
Abū	father of (<i>marfū[°]</i> form)
<i>°adala °alayhi</i>	he did him justice
<i>al-°adālah</i>	uprightness <i>Al-°ālī wa al-nāzil</i> the short and long chains of narration
<i>°Adam Kitābati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī</i>	refraining from writing down the <i>Ḥadīth</i> of a narrator
<i>°Adam al-Mutāba°ah</i>	not to be followed in the narration
<i>°Adam Ma°rifati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> of this narrator is unknown
<i>°Adam qiyām Ḥadīth al-Rāwī</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> of this narrator is not acceptable on its own
<i>°Adam al-Riwayati °an al-Rāwī</i>	refraining from narrating on the authority of a narrator
<i>°Adam Ṣiḥḥati Ḥadīth al-Rāwī</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> of this narrator is not authentic
<i>°Adam Thubūt Ḥadīth al-Rāwī</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> of this narrator is not authentic
<i>°ādīl</i>	just
<i>Aḥkāṁ</i>	Islamic rulings

<i>Ahl al-bid[°]ah</i>	people of innovation
<i>Ahl al-Kalām</i>	scholars of theological rhetoric
<i>Ahl al-Ahawā[°]</i>	people who follow their desires
<i>Ahl al-Ra[°]y, Aṣḥāb al-Ra[°]ī</i>	a school of jurisprudence that used rational argument, predominantly the <i>Ḥanafī</i> school
<i>Ahl al-Sunnah</i> the	people who follow the way of Prophetic <i>Sunnah</i>
<i>Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā[°]ah</i>	people who follow the way of the Prophetic <i>Sunnah</i> and the consensus of the Muslims
<i>Ankarahū</i>	disowned it
<i>[°]Amal ahl al-Madinah</i>	the practise of the people of Madinah
<i>Amawī</i>	Umayyad
<i>Amīr</i>	leader, commander
<i>[°]Arāfāt</i>	a plain near Makkah in Saudi Arabia
<i>Al-[°]Aṣabiyyah</i>	partisanship
<i>Aṣḥāb al-Ra[°]ī</i>	see <i>Ahl al-Ra[°]y</i>
<i>Asmā[°]</i>	names
<i>Al-Azāriqah</i>	the followers of Nāfi [°] Ibn al-Azraq, a sect from amongst the <i>Khawārij</i> .
<i>Babylon</i>	ancient city in Iraq
<i>B[°]aḍ ḥaḍīthihī</i>	some of his <i>Ḥaḍīth</i>
<i>Badr</i>	a site near Madinah, Saudi Arabia, where the first battle of the Muslims took place
<i>Ba[°]ḍhum sakatū [°]anhu</i>	some of the <i>Ḥaḍīth</i> scholars did not either disparage or validated him

<i>Baghlān</i>	a name of a city in Afghanistan
<i>Banī Marwān</i> (Umayyad)	the children of <i>Marwān</i>
<i>Banī Qurayzah</i>	a name of a Jewish tribe in Madinah
<i>Bāṭil</i>	unauthentic, very weak
<i>Bāṭiniyyah</i> esoteric religion	a group of sects who gave meanings to the Islamic
<i>Bid'ah</i>	innovation in religion
<i>Bilād mā wrā' al-nahr</i>	lands beyond the river <i>Jayhūn</i> , also known as Amu Darya
<i>Bukhārā</i>	a name of a city in Uzbekistan
<i>Al-Bukhāriyyah</i>	the language spoken in <i>Bukharā</i> , Uzbekistan
<i>Burqa</i> ^c	veil worn by Muslim women
<i>Ḍa'afahū jiddan</i> , <i>wa lam yuḥaddīth 'anhu</i>	He regarded him as extremely weak and did not narrate from him
<i>Ḍabṭ</i>	precision
<i>Ḍa'īf</i> , pl. <i>Ḍu'afā'</i>	unauthentic, weak
<i>Ḍa'īf jiddan</i>	extremely weak
<i>Dajjāl</i>	a liar
<i>Al-Ḍāll</i>	misguided
<i>Dhāhib al-ḥadīth</i> not	the <i>Aḥādīth</i> of the narrator are considered, unauthentic
<i>Dhāhib</i> extremely	description of a narrator, weak
<i>Dhikr</i>	remembrance of Allāh, prayer

<i>Dirhams</i>	silver coins
<i>Fīhī naẓar</i>	there are problems with him
<i>Fī ḥadīthihī b[°]ad al-manākīr</i>	in his Ḥadīth are some <i>manākīr</i>
<i>Fī ḥadīthihī manākīr</i>	there are <i>manākīr</i> in his Ḥadīth
<i>Fī ḥadīthī shay[°]</i>	there is weakness in his Ḥadīth
<i>Fī ḥadīthihī Idṭirāb</i>	there are inconsistencies in his Ḥadīth
<i>Fī ḥadīthihī naẓar lā yuḥtamal</i>	his Ḥadīth has problems that cannot be excused
<i>Fīhi ḍa[°]f</i>	he has a weakness
<i>Fiqh</i>	jurisprudence
<i>Fitnah, pl. fītan</i>	tribulation
<i>Fuṣṭāṭ</i>	old name for Cairo, Egypt
<i>Ghayru thiqah</i>	he is not reliable
<i>Gharīb Ḥadīth</i>	a Ḥadīth which has been narrated by only one narrator in some part of its chain
<i>Ḥadīth, pl. Aḥādīth</i>	a statement, action or tacit approval of the Prophet Muḥammad
<i>Ḥadīthuhū laysa bialqā[°]im</i>	his Ḥadīth is not acceptable
<i>Ḥadīthuhū laysa bial-ma[°]rūf</i>	his Ḥadīth is not known
<i>Ḥadīthuhū lā yutāba[°] alayhi</i>	his Aḥādīth are not to be used to support other narrations
<i>Ḥadīthuhū laysa bial-qā[°]im</i>	his Ḥadīth is not authentic
<i>Ḥadīthuhū laysa biqā[°]im</i>	his Ḥadīth is not authentic

<i>Ḥadīthuhū laysa min wajhin ṣaḥīḥ</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not narrated from authentic chains in any way
<i>Ḥadīthuhū laysa fī wajhin ṣaḥīḥ</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> is not authentic in any way
<i>Ḥadīthuhū laysa bi mustaqīm</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> is not authentic
<i>Ḥadīthuhū fīhi naẓar</i>	there is a problem in his <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Ḥāfiẓ</i> , pl. <i>Ḥuffāẓ</i>	one who has memorised a large number of <i>Aḥādīth</i>
<i>Al-Ḥaid</i>	menses
<i>Ḥajj</i>	the annual pilgrimage
<i>Hal yuḥtajju bihī</i>	is he an acceptable narrator?
<i>Ḥanaḥī madhhab</i>	one of the four main school of jurisprudence
<i>Al-Ḥarūrīyah</i>	another name for the <i>Khawārij</i>
<i>Ḥarūrā'</i>	a village in Iraq, near Kufa
<i>Ḥarrān</i>	a name of a city in Turkey
<i>Ḥarrara al-Ḥarūrīyah</i>	started the ideology of <i>al-Khurūj</i> in the land of <i>Ḥarūrā'</i>
<i>Ḥasan</i>	good, acceptable
<i>Ḥasan lidhātihī</i>	good in and of itself
<i>Ḥasan lighayrihī</i>	<i>ḥasan</i> due to other narrations
<i>Ḥifẓ</i>	memorisation
<i>Ḥijāz</i>	Middle-Western part of the Arabian Peninsula
<i>Hijrah</i>	emigration, in particular the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Makkah to Madinah
<i>Hijrī</i>	the Islamic lunar calendar

<i>Ḥimṣ</i>	a name of a city in Syria
<i>Hijrah</i>	emigration, in particular the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad from Makkah to Madinah
<i>Ḥudaibīya</i>	name of a place near Makkah, Saudi Arabia
<i>Ḥujjah</i>	one of the highest levels of trustworthiness of a narrator
<i>Huwa majhūl lā yu^ʿraf</i>	he is unknown
<i>Huwa ṣadūq fī al-Ḥadīth</i>	he is truthful in <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Huwa yuḥtamal</i>	he is acceptable in narration
<i>Isnād</i> , pl. <i>Asānīd</i>	chain of narration
<i>Ibn</i>	son
<i>ʿIlm al-Kalām</i>	scholastic theology
<i>ʿIlal</i> , al- <i>ʿIlal</i>	sources of weakness, defect
<i>Imām</i>	a religious scholar or Muslim leader
<i>Ishāʾ</i> Prayer	the night Prayer
<i>ʿīd al-Fiṭr</i>	festival celebrated after <i>Ramaḍān</i>
<i>Ijāzah</i>	permission to narrate
<i>ʿindahū manākīr</i>	he has <i>manākīr</i>
<i>Inqīṭāʿ</i>	an interruption
<i>Īmān</i> , al- <i>Īmān</i>	belief, faith
<i>Al-Iʿtiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah</i>	adherence to the <i>Qurʾān</i> and the <i>Sunnah</i>
<i>Istijrāḥan</i>	intending or desiring corruption

<i>°indahum</i>	in their regard
<i>°Ibāḍīyah</i>	the followers of °Abd Allāh Ibn °Ibāḍa. a sect from amongst the <i>Khawārij</i>
<i>Ibāḥī</i>	those who used to permit that which was known to be unlawful in Islam
<i>°indahū marāsīl wa waham, wa huwa Yuktabu ḥadīthahū</i>	he has many <i>mursal Ḥadīth</i> and doubts, but his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are to be written
<i>°indahū marāsīl wa waham, wa lākin Ḥadīthahū yuktab to</i>	he has <i>Aḥādīth mursalah</i> and doubt. However, his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are to be written
<i>Al-Iḥtimāl</i>	possibility
<i>Al-Irjā°</i>	to disconnect actions from faith
<i>Iḍṭirāb Ḥadīth al-Rāwī</i>	inconsistency in the <i>Ḥadīth</i> of a narrator
<i>Jurjān</i>	a name of a city in Iran
<i>Jumāda al-Ūlā</i>	the fifth month of the <i>hijrī</i>
calendar	
<i>Al-Jahmiyyah</i>	followers of Jahm Ibn Ṣafwān
<i>Al-Jamal</i>	camel, referring to the battle of <i>Al-Jamal</i>
<i>Jāhiliyyah</i>	pre-Islamic period
<i>Al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta°dīl</i>	disparagement and validity of narrators
<i>Jayḥūn</i>	the largest river in Central Asia, flowing through Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan
<i>Al-Jāmi°</i>	a type of collection of <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Al-Jāmi° al-Kabīr</i>	name of a <i>Ḥadīth</i> collection

<i>Jaraḥahū</i>	lit. He injured him, meaning he disparaged him
<i>Jarḥan</i>	lit. an injury; meaning the disparagement of a narrator
<i>Jarraḥahū</i>	lit. to severely injure; meaning to severely disparage a narrator
<i>Al-Jurḥ</i>	lit. the wound
<i>Ajrāḥ, jurūḥ, jirāḥ</i>	lit. the wounds
<i>Al-Jazzār</i>	the butcher
<i>Jihād</i>	struggle, to wage war for the sake of Allāh, including striving against ones desires
<i>Janāzah, pl. Al-Janā'iz</i>	funeral
<i>Kathīr al-waham</i>	he has lots of doubts
<i>Kharmiyyah</i>	followers of Bābik al-Kharmī
<i>Khurāsān</i>	a province in NE. Iran and W. Afghanistan
<i>Khawārij</i>	a sect who rebelled against the rule of the fourth caliph ʿAlī
<i>Khārijī</i> of	one who subscribes to the belief the <i>Khawārij</i>
<i>Al-Khurūj</i>	the act of rebelling against the leader
<i>Kūfī</i>	a person from Kufa
<i>Al-Karrāmiyyah</i>	followers of Muḥammad Ibn Karrām
<i>Kūfat al-Jund</i>	lit. from the word ' <i>Takawwuf</i> ' which means 'gathering together'; meaning a place in Iraq; Kufa
<i>Kāna</i>	he was

<i>Kitāb al-Wakālah</i>	book of attorney
<i>Kitāb al-Aḥkām</i>	book of legal rulings
<i>Kusūf</i>	eclipse
<i>Ka'bah</i>	a building in Makkah towards which direction Muslims pray
<i>Kitābatu Ḥadīth al-Rāwī</i>	writing down the <i>Ḥadīth</i> of a narrator
<i>Kāna wasaṭan</i>	he was acceptable
<i>Kunyah, pl. Al-kunā</i>	nickname
<i>Al-Kadhib, Kadhib</i>	lying
<i>Kadhdhāb</i>	habitual liar
<i>Khalq</i>	creation
<i>Al-Khūziyyah</i>	the language spoken in the area of Khwarizm (Chorasmia), Uzbekistan), also known as Khwarazmian or Chorasmian
<i>Laysa bi al-Qawiy ʿindahum</i>	they did not regard him as acceptable
<i>Laysa bi al-ḥafīz</i>	he was not precise
<i>Laysa bidhāk</i>	he is not considered an acceptable narrator
<i>Laysa bial-qawīyy</i>	he is not an acceptable narrator
<i>Laysa bishayʿ</i>	he is of no worth
<i>Lā yarāhū shayan</i>	he did not consider him to be of importance
<i>Lam yakun bial-ḥāfīz, wa huwa yuḥtamal</i>	he is not a <i>ḥāfīz</i> , but may be accepted
<i>Lā yuḥaddīthu ʿanhu</i>	he did not used to narrate <i>Ḥadīth</i> from him

<i>Lā yarwī °anhu</i>	he did not used to narrate from him
<i>Lā yubālī mā dufi° ilayhi fayaqra°uhū</i>	he used to read all that was given him, without taking care
<i>Lā yutāba° °alā ḥadīthihī</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not to be followed
<i>Lā yutāba° fī ḥadīthihī</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not to be followed
<i>Lam yutāba° °alayhi</i>	it is not to be followed, meaning a particular <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Lā yutāba° °alayhi</i>	it is not to be followed, meaning a particular <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Layyin</i>	narrates without taking great care, lit. soft
<i>Layyin al-Ḥadīth.</i>	narrates <i>Ḥadīth</i> without taking great care
<i>Lam yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not authentic
<i>Lam yaqum ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> is not acceptable
<i>Laysa bima°rūf al-Ḥadīth</i>	he is not known for narrating <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Lā yu°raf</i>	he is not known
<i>Lā yaṣiḥ</i>	It is not authentic
<i>Lam yaṣiḥ</i>	It was not authentic
<i>Lā yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not authentic
<i>Lam yaṣiḥ ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not authentic
<i>Lam yakun bidhāk being</i>	he did not reach the level of trustworthy
<i>Lam yaṣiḥ isnādū ḥadīthihī</i>	the chains of narration for his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not authentic

<i>Lana fīhi naẓar</i>	we have problems regarding him
<i>Lā yu^ʿrafu lahū samā^ʿun ṣaḥīḥ</i>	he is not known to have authentically narrated from his teachers
<i>Lākin ʿindahū manākīr</i>	but he has <i>manākīr</i>
<i>Lā ba^ʿsa bihī</i>	there is no major problem with him
<i>Laysa bidhālika al-thiqah</i>	he has not attained an acceptable level of reliability
<i>Laysa ʿindahum bilqawīyy strong</i>	according to them he is not strong
<i>Laysa bidhālik al-qawīyy</i>	he has not attained an acceptable level of strength
<i>Laysa bilqawīyy</i>	he is not strong
<i>Laysa bidhālika ʿindahum</i>	due to this he does not hold an acceptable position with them
<i>Laysa bi shay^ʿ</i>	he is nothing
<i>Laysa bi thiqaḥ</i>	he is not trustworthy
<i>Lā yaṣīḥ ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> is not authentic
<i>Lam yathbut ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> is not established (authentic)
<i>Lā yutāba^ʿu ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> does not have other supporting narrations
<i>Lā yu^ʿraf ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> are unknown
<i>Lā yu^ʿraf</i>	he is unknown
<i>Laysa bilqawīyy ʿindahum</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> scholars did not regard him as strong
<i>Laysa bi al-ḥāfiẓ ʿindahum</i>	he is not a <i>ḥafīẓ</i> in their consideration
<i>Al-lawḥ al-Maḥfūẓ</i>	the preserved tablet in heaven

<i>Mutawātir</i>	narrations with a large number of chains, lit. Consecutive / plentiful
<i>Marfū^c Ḥadīth</i>	those attributed to the Prophet without a full chain
<i>Mawqūf Ḥadīth</i>	those attributed to the Prophet's companions
<i>Marwānīyyah</i>	Mu ^c āwīyah's supporters
<i>Miṣr</i>	Egypt
<i>Munkar al-Ḥadīth</i>	his narrations are rejected
<i>Matrūk</i>	abandoned
<i>Marfū^c</i>	elevated
<i>Madhhab</i>	school of jurisprudence
<i>Muḏlim</i>	very weak, unauthentic, lit. dark
<i>Mursal</i> , pl. <i>marāsīl</i>	<i>Ḥadīth</i> which a Follower (<i>tābi^cī</i>) has reported directly from the Prophet without mentioning the upper link, or the Companion, from whom it is received
<i>Murji'ah</i>	a sect who denied the effects of actions upon faith
<i>Murjī</i>	a follower of the <i>Murji'ah</i>
<i>Matn</i>	text of the <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Mu^ctazilah, Al-Mu^ctazilah</i>	a sect who affirmed the meanings of Allāh's names but denied his attributes (the deserters)
<i>Al-Muḥakimah</i>	one of the names of the
<i>Khawārij</i>	
<i>Al-Māriqah</i>	one of the names of the
<i>Khawārij</i>	

<i>Al-Madhāhib al-Fiqhiyyah</i>	schools of jurisprudence
<i>Mary Shāhjān</i> or <i>Mary</i>	name of a city in Turkmenistan
<i>Madīnat al-Nabī</i>	city of the Prophet, Madinah
<i>Mālikīyah</i>	followers of the <i>Mālikī</i> school of jurisprudence
<i>Musnad</i> , pl. <i>Masānīd</i>	a method of compiling <i>Aḥādīth</i>
<i>Musnadāt</i>	those <i>Aḥādīth</i> with a complete chain to the Prophet Muḥammad
<i>Maqāṭīʿ</i>	those <i>Aḥādīth</i> that do not have a complete chain to the Prophet Muḥammad
<i>Majhūl</i> , <i>al-Majhūl</i>	unknown
<i>Munkar</i> , pl. <i>manākīr</i>	disowned, rejected
<i>Munkar min al-amr</i>	linguistically, that which is rejected or unknown is the opposite of
<i>Al-Maʿrūf</i>	that which is known and accepted
<i>Mahjūr</i>	abandoned, left alone
<i>Matrūk</i>	abandoned, left alone
<i>Mutashaddid</i>	excessively strict
<i>Matrūk al-Ḥadīth</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are abandoned
<i>Mawḍūʿ</i>	fabricated
<i>Maṣnūʿ</i>	fabricated
<i>Mukhtaliq</i>	fabricated
<i>Maḥilluhū al-Ṣidq</i>	his place is one of truthfulness
<i>Muttaṣil</i>	connected

<i>Al-Muḥṣir</i>	the one who stipulates a condition for non-completion of <i>Ḥajj</i> or <i>ʿUmrah</i>
<i>Al-Mukhālafah</i>	contradiction in <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Munkar al-Ḥadīth lā yuktab ḥadīthahū</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are <i>munkar</i> . His <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not to be written down
<i>Al-Madāʾin</i>	the capital of the fallen Persian empire
<i>Mashīʾah</i>	deny Allāh's Intent
<i>Nafyu al-Thiqah ʿan al-Rāwī</i>	negating the reliability of a narrator
<i>Nafī al-quwwah</i>	lack of ability of a narrator.
<i>Nakārah/ Al-nakārah</i>	disowned
<i>Nakira</i>	to disown something
<i>Al-Najjāriyyah</i>	a sect from the <i>Murjʾah</i> , the followers of al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad al-Najjār
<i>Nawāṣib</i>	a name for the <i>Khawārij</i>
<i>Nisābūr</i>	a name of a city in Iran
<i>Ninwa</i>	a name of a city in Uzbekistan
<i>Nahāwand</i>	the city of <i>Nahāwand</i> , refers to a battle which took place there
<i>Al-Naẓar fī al-Rāwī aw fī Ḥadīthihī</i>	weakness in a narrator or in his <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Nahrawān</i>	a name of a town in Iraq
<i>Naqadū</i>	they criticised
<i>Al-Qabūl</i>	acceptance
<i>Qazwīn</i>	a name of a city in Afghanistan

<i>Quraysh</i>	a name of a prominent tribe in Makkah
<i>Qaḍāyā al-Ṣaḥābah wa al-Tābiʿīn</i>	the lives of the Companions and Successors
<i>Quwwah, al-quwwah</i>	strength
<i>Qawiyy</i>	strong
<i>Qadariyyah</i>	a name of a sect that does not believe that Allāh has
knowledge of occurrence	all matters prior to their
<i>Al-Qadr</i>	decree, pre-destination
<i>Qadarī</i> the	the name given to a follower of <i>Qadariyyah</i> sect
<i>Al-Qaṣṣāṣūn</i>	the storytellers
<i>Al-Rāfiḍah</i> of	a sect that rejected the Caliphate Abū Bakr and ʿUmar
<i>Ramwhū bilwaḍʿ</i>	accused him of being a fabricator
<i>Ramaḍān</i>	the ninth month of the Muslim calendar
<i>Rakʿah, pl. Rakaʿāt</i>	a cycle of the Prayer
<i>Rajulun ʿadlun</i>	a just man
<i>Rajul</i>	man
<i>Ṣadūq sayyiʿ al-ḥifẓ</i>	truthful, but with a bad memory
<i>Al-Ṣarf</i>	converter (in relation to money)
<i>Ṣiffīn</i>	a name of a city in Iraq, place of a battle
<i>Ṣārī, pl. Al-Ṣawārī</i>	a name of battle between the Muslim and Byzantine Empires
<i>Sharīʿah</i>	Islamic law

<i>Sāqiṭ</i>	very weak
<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth, Ṣaḥīḥ</i>	authentic
<i>Sīrah</i>	life of the Prophet
<i>Sunnah</i> of	the actions, approval and saying the Prophet Muḥammed
<i>Al-Shīʿah, Shīʿah</i>	a sect who only consider ʿAlī to be superior in virtue to ʿUthmān, without rejecting the first two Caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar
<i>Shīʿī</i>	the name of a follower of the
<i>Shīʿah</i>	
<i>Shūrā</i> ministers	consultation; council of
<i>Al-Shām</i>	historical Syria which includes modern day Palestine/Israel, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon
<i>Al-Shurāt</i>	a sect from the <i>Khawārij</i>
<i>Ṣaḥābah</i>	Companions of the Prophet
<i>Al-Ṣalāh</i>	Prayer
<i>Sakatū ʿanhu</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> scholars remained silent about him
<i>Sayyiʾ al-raʾya fīhi</i>	he used to hold a bad opinion of him
<i>Al-Sakt, al-sukūt</i>	means to remain silent
<i>Sāqiṭ al-Ḥadīth</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are not to be written down at all
<i>Ṣadūq</i>	truthful narrator
<i>Ṣidq</i>	truthfulness
<i>Sūʾ al-Ḥifẓ</i>	bad memory
<i>Ṣadūq</i>	truthful

<i>Sakatū ʿanhu. lā yuktab ḥadīthahū albatta</i>	they remained silent about him. His <i>Aḥādīth</i> are never to be written down
<i>Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥadīth</i>	an upright narrator
<i>Ṣaḥīḥ lidhātihī</i>	authentic in and of itself
<i>Shawāhid wa mutābaʿāt</i>	supporting evidence
<i>Ṣāhib raʾy</i>	follower of personal opinions as opposed to the <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Shibh lā shay lā yadrī malḥadīth</i> is	he does not know what a <i>Ḥadīth</i> is
<i>Thabit, pl. athbāt</i>	strong, authentic
<i>Tark al-kitābah</i>	not writing down the <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Tark al-riwāyah</i>	not relating from this narrator
<i>Tark al-iḥtijāj</i>	not relying upon this narrator
<i>Turika ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are abandoned
<i>Thiqah</i>	trustworthy
<i>Al-Taʿṣṣub</i>	partisanship
<i>Ṭabaqāt</i>	eras
<i>Tābiʿīn</i>	the second generation after the Prophet Muḥammed
<i>Tinnīs</i>	a name of a town in Egypt
<i>Tarakahu wa rubbamā rawa ʿanhu</i>	he abandoned him and some time he also narrated from him
<i>Taqiyyah</i>	intentional hypocrisy
<i>Al-Tadlīs, Tadlīs</i>	interpolation, lit. to hide, a means by which narrators try to hide the weakness of their teacher
<i>Tarakūhu</i>	they abandoned him

<i>Turika al-ihtijāj biḥadīthihī</i>	it is not permissible to rely upon his <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Turika kitābata ḥadīthihī</i>	writing down his <i>Ḥadīth</i> is not permissible
<i>Takallama fīhī</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> scholars spoke disparagingly about him
<i>Ta^ʿrīfu</i>	you know
<i>Tunkir</i>	you reject
<i>Al-Tayammum</i>	dry ablution
<i>Thaqīf</i>	a name of a tribe from <i>Hijāz</i>
<i>Tafṣīl al-Mujmal</i>	detailing the general concept
<i>Takhṣīṣ al-^ʿĀm</i>	constricting of the general
<i>Tawḍīḥ al-Mushkil</i>	clarifying that which is unclear
<i>Tamyīz al-Ruwāt</i>	distinctions of the narrators
<i>Ta^ʿḥīl</i>	negating the attributes of Allāh
<i>Al-Tahārah</i>	purification
<i>Tasbīḥ</i>	glorification of Allāh
<i>Takallama fīhī</i>	he spoke against him
<i>Uṣūliyyīn</i>	scholars who specialised in the principles of jurisprudence
<i>Al-^ʿUluw</i>	High
<i>^ʿulū al-sanad</i>	<i>Aḥādīth</i> that contain a small number of narrators to the Prophet Muḥammed
<i>^ʿUmrah</i>	the lesser pilgrimage to <i>al-</i>
<i>Ka^ʿba</i>	
<i>^ʿUthmānyyah,</i>	the supporters for ^ʿ Uthmān Ibn ^ʿ Affān
<i>Waṣīy</i>	regent, successor

<i>Wāsiṭ</i>	a name of a city in Iraq
<i>Al-Waham</i>	doubt
<i>Waḍḍāʿ</i>	fabricator
<i>Wastaʿdā ʿalyhi fī al-Ḥadīth</i>	he used to incite against him with regard to <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Al-Waḍʿ</i>	fabrication
<i>Yatakallamu fīhī</i>	he spoke against him
<i>Yatakallmūna fīhī</i>	they spoke against him
<i>Yutakallamu fīhī</i>	he was spoken against
<i>Yatakallamūna fī ḥifẓihī</i> regards to	they spoke against him in his memory
<i>Yatakallamūna fī ḥadīthihī</i> regards to	they spoke against him in his narrations
<i>Yatakallamūna fī bʿaḍ ḥadīthihī</i> regards to	they spoke against him in some of his narrations
<i>Yatakallamūna fī isnādi ḥadīthihī</i> regards to his <i>Ḥadīth</i>	they spoke against him in the chains of narration in
<i>Yuḥṭamal fī al-Ḥadīth</i>	the <i>Ḥadīth</i> is possible
<i>Yuktab ḥadīthuhū</i>	his <i>Ḥadīth</i> can be written, meaning his <i>Ḥadīth</i> have some weakness
<i>Yatakallamūn fī ḥifẓihī</i>	they criticised his memory
<i>Yukhālīf al-nās fī ḥadīthihī</i>	he contradicts other narrators with his <i>Ḥadīth</i>
<i>Yarā al-irjāʾ</i>	he used to hold the view of <i>irjāʾ</i>
<i>Yurwā ʿanhu</i>	he is narrated from
<i>Yuktabu ḥadīthahū</i>	his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are to be written
<i>Yahimu al-shayʾ</i>	he sometimes makes mistakes

<i>Yukhālifu fī baʿḍ ḥadīthihī</i>	some of his <i>Aḥādīth</i> are contradictory
<i>Yukhālifu al-nās fī ḥadīthihī</i>	he contradicts other narrators in his <i>Ḥadīth</i> . He is unknown
<i>Yuḍaʿifahū</i>	regarded him as weak
<i>Yatkallamūna fī ḥifẓihī</i>	they speak about his memory
<i>Yad</i>	hand
<i>Yajraḥuhū</i>	he disparages him, lit. He injures him
<i>Yurmā bilkadhib</i>	he was accused of lying
<i>Yutrak</i>	abandoned
<i>Yuqālu</i>	lit. “it was said”, using the manner of uncertainty
<i>Al-Zindīq</i> , pl. <i>Zanādiqah</i> and <i>al-Zanādiqah</i>	Heretics
<i>Al-Zandaqah</i>	Heresy
<i>Zāhid</i> , pl. <i>Zuhhād</i>	ascetics

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